

***A SOCIAL SEMIOTIC ANALYSIS OF THE VERBAL, NON-VERBAL AND VISUAL
RHETORIC OF THE 2009 AND 2014 AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (A.N.C.)
POLITICAL TELEVISION ADVERTISEMENTS: A COMPARATIVE QUALITATIVE
CONTENT ANALYSIS STUDY***

by

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DECLARATION

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I declare that ***A social semiotic analysis of the verbal, non-verbal and visual rhetoric of the 2009 and 2014 African National Congress (A.N.C.) political television advertisements: A comparative qualitative content analysis study*** is my own work and that all the sources that I have either used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of comprehensive references.

Mr. MT Thatelo

Date: 30 November 2016

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ABSTRACT

Political advertising on television is a relatively “new” phenomenon in South African general election campaigns (circa 2008). The purpose of this study is to analyse and compare the three sampled 2009 and 2014 African National Congress (A.N.C.) political television advertisements, with a specific focus on the verbal, non-verbal and visual rhetoric in the communication of election campaign messages. To achieve this goal, the study reviewed literature in the subject of rhetoric and post-colonial perspectives in the areas of Afrocentrism and Eurocentrism, focusing specifically on the seminal work of the Afro-centrist, Molefi Asante, and the anti-Western-centric scholar, Samin Amin. The study uses social semiotics (as both a theoretical approach and a research methodological framework). As a theoretical approach, the social semiotic approach was conceptualised by Valentin Voloshinov (1973) and Michael Halliday (1978), and it argues for the creation of social meaning within a text and within a society. The study focuses on the former, the creation of meaning within a text, that is, the content of the three sampled political advertisements. As a research framework, the approach was adapted by Gunther Kress and Theo van Leeuwen (1996). The study favours their social semiotic research method which provide the interpreter/researcher with dimensions, or “tools’, with which to explicate and deconstruct textual meanings. Thus, in this study, social semiotics as part of the broader field of discourse analysis, was used to deconstruct the latent and manifest ideologies of the non-verbal, verbal and visual rhetoric of *two* 2009 and *one* 2014 A.N.C. political television advertisements. Using this combined theoretical framework (rhetoric, social semiotics and Afrocentrism and Eurocentrism), and, research approach, it could be determined whether the verbal, non-verbal and visual rhetoric of these three A.N.C. political television commercials represents Afrocentric and/or Eurocentric post-colonial perspectives.

The main findings of the study show that both the visual and verbal rhetoric of the sampled A.N.C. political television commercials represents a combination of a varying ideological constructs, namely the “nationalist”; “socialist”; “liberal feminist”; and, “liberal capitalist ideologies” (cf. Haywood 1998; Thompson 2003). Furthermore, the findings of the study point out that the verbal, non-verbal and visual rhetoric of the selected A.N.C. political television commercials, are neither exclusively Afrocentric nor Eurocentric in nature. Both

post-colonial perspectives are represented, in varying degrees, in the sampled A.N.C. commercials.

The study makes a significant contribution to the political communication landscape in South Africa, in that, it is an exclusively qualitative content analysis, as opposed to previous, quantitative content-analysis studies (cf. Fourie 2008; Fourie & Froneman 2003; Fourie & Froneman 2001). It is also important to note that as far as can be determined, that this is the first study to use social semiotics, as either a theoretical framework or a research method.

The key limitation of the study is that, it only focuses on three purposely sampled A.N.C. election campaign television advertisements, and does not include the political television advertisements of opposition political parties, such as the Democratic Alliance.

KEY TERMS

African National Congress, political television advertisements, election campaign television commercials, non-verbal rhetoric, verbal rhetoric, visual rhetoric, social semiotic theory, social semiotic research method, Afrocentrism, Eurocentrism, post-colonialism

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ABBREVIATIONS¹

A.A.M.	Australian Anti-Apartheid Movement
A.C.D.P.	African Christian Democratic Party
A.N.C.	African National Congress
A.N.C.W.L.	African National Congress Women's League
A.P.L.A.	Azanian People's Liberation Army
A.P.O.	African People's Organisation
A.R.V.	Anti-retroviral
A.Z.A.P.O.	Azanian People's Organisation
B & B	Bed and Breakfast
B.W.A.	Businesswomen's Association (South Africa)
C.G.E.	Commission on Gender Equality
C.O.D.E.S.A.	Convention for a Democratic South Africa
C.O.P.E.	Congress of the People
C.O.S.A.T.U.	Congress of the South African Trade Union
C.P.C	Coloured People Congress
C.U.	Close-Up
D.A.	Democratic Alliance
D.W.A.F.	Department of Water Affairs and Forestry
E.F.F.	Economic Freedom Fighters
E.L.S.	Extra-long shot
F.F.P.	Freedom Front Plus
F.R.E.L.I.M.O.	<i>Frente de Libertação de Moçambique: (Mozambique Liberation Front)</i>
F.S.A.W.	Federation of South African Women
H.I.V/AIDS	Human Immune Virus/Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
G.D.P.	Gross Domestic Product

¹ This list of abbreviations/acronyms includes not only political parties and government ministries but also includes various camera angle techniques, as well as other documents.

I.A.A.M	Independent Anti-Apartheid Movement
I.C.A.S.A	Independent Communication Authority of South Africa
I.D.	Independent Democrats
I.E.C	Independent Electoral Commission
I.F.P.	Inkatha Freedom Party
J.S.E.	Johannesburg Stock Exchange
M.D.G.	Millennium Development Goal
M.D.M.	Mass Democratic Movement
M.K.	<i>Umkhonto we Sizwe: A People's Army ("The Spear of the Nation")²</i>
M.L.S.	Medium Long Shot
M.P.L.A	<i>Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola</i> (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola)
M.P.N.P.	Multi-Party Negotiating Process
M.S.	Medium Shot
N.A	National Assembly
N.C.O.P.	National Council of Provinces
N.D.P.	National Development Plan
N.E.C.	National Executive Committee
N.H.I.	National Health Insurance
N.N.W.	New National Party
N.P.	National Party
N.S.N.P.	National School Nutrition Programme
O.F.S.N.V.A.	Orange Free State Native Vigilance Association
O.S.W.	Office on the Status of Women
P.A.C.	Pan Africanist Congress
R.D.P.	Reconstruction and Development Program

² Please note that there are many different spelling *Umkhonto we Sizwe*, however this study has standardised it, and used the official A.N.C. Party website's spelling.

S.A.A.W.U.	South African Allied Workers Union
S.A.B.C. (1, 2, 3)	South African Broadcasting Cooperation, 1, 2, and 3
S.A.C.O.D.	South African Congress of Democrats
S.A.C.P.	South African Communist Party
S.A.C.T.U.	South African Congress of Trade Unions
S.A.D.F.	South African Defence Force
S.A.I.C	South African Indian Congress
S.A.L.P.	South African Labour Party
S.A.N.E.F.	South African National Editors Forum
S.A.N.N.C.	South African Native National Congress
S.A.N.P.	South African National Party
S.W.A.P.O.	South West Africa People Organisation
T.R.C.	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
U.D.F.	United Democratic Freedom
U.D.M.	United Democratic Movement
U.K.	United Kingdom
U.N.	United Nations
U.N.M.D.G.	United Nations Millennium Development Goals
U.P.	Unionist Party
U.S.	United States
U.S.S.R.	United Soviet Socialist Republics
V.A.T.	Value Added Tax
V.O.C.	<i>Vereenigde Oost-Indische Camagnie</i> (Dutch East India Company)
W.P.G.W.U.	Western Province General Workers Union
Z.A.N.U-P.F.	Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The following study is a qualitative content (thematic), textual analysis, which seeks to compare two 2009 and one 2014 African National Congress (henceforth, A.N.C.) national political television advertisements, by means of social semiotics (as a research methodology *and* theoretical framework) and, through the use of, an Afrocentric and Eurocentric theoretical framework. In addition, the study also makes use of the theoretical discourse of rhetoric (verbal, non-verbal and visual). The theoretical framework is therefore inter-disciplinary, and eclectic, drawing from political communication; cultural and media studies; and, television and film studies. The three A.N.C. advertisements being explicated and interpreted are: the *My Vote* (2009) advertisement; *The Woman Next Door* (2009) advertisement; and, the *2014 A.N.C. Television Election Campaign* commercial (2014).¹

The dissertation is based on the view that social semiotics can be used both as a theoretical approach and as a methodological framework for analysing the verbal, visual and non-verbal data presented within media texts such as television advertisements. Scholars, such as Valentin Voloshinov (1973) and Michael Halliday (1978), conceptualised social semiotics as a theoretical approach. Later this approach was appropriated and reformulated as a research methodology by Gunther Kress and Theo van Leeuwen (1996). They introduced dimensions or “tools” for the analysis of media texts. These include: discourse, representation, modality, genre, narrative, myth, and ideology. These “apparatuses”; or “tools” are used to analyse the verbal, non-verbal and visual rhetoric in the identified A.N.C. political television commercials. This is to deconstruct whether the rhetoric in these election campaign television commercials have latent and/or manifest meanings. And in turn, to reveal whether they possess an underlying ideology and philosophy. And lastly, whether the rhetoric, ideology/ies and meanings in the sampled election campaign television commercials represent the Afrocentric and/or the Eurocentric postcolonial perspectives.

¹ In the 2014 national election campaign, the A.N.C. used only *one* television election campaign commercial.

Therefore, social semiotics as a theoretical paradigm, focusses on the creation of social meaning (within texts and within society); links social semiotic “signs” or “resources” as represented in texts, to contexts/socio-cultural environment; and, argues that all “resources” represent an ideology/ies. In contrast, social semiotics as a research method is directly linked to the theoretical paradigm: it provides the interpreter, or researcher, the “tools” or dimensions with which to deconstruct the “resources” (signs) found within the texts under analysis. Thereby enabling the researcher to make connections to the (unique) environments/contexts in which each text was produced. And in this study, this “context” is South African society; politics; history; economics; and culture; all of which are the result of decades of apartheid and colonial rule, and twenty-two years of democracy, with an A.N.C.-led government. In short, using social semiotics as both theory and a research method combines a content analysis with an analysis of the “social realities” in which these texts came to be made (post-apartheid, postcolonial South Africa).

As such, *Chapter One* provides a summary of the historical political landscape of South Africa from the colonial era, through the apartheid era and into post-1994 democratic South Africa. It also provides an overview of the nature of the concept of political advertising and its historical background, particularly in the South African context. Following the overview of the historical background on the concept of political advertising, the chapter focuses on contextualising the study in terms of its aims, relevance, research methodology, theoretical foundation contributions and limitations. In the final section of the chapter, the chronological layout of the entire study is provided.

Considering the above, the next section provides the context of the study.

1.2 CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

This section deals with the background to, and aims of the study, the relevance of the topic and the study’s relationship with the discipline of communication, theoretical foundation, contributions and limitations.

1.2.1 Background to the study

In the run-up to the 2009 and 2014 South African national elections, major political and economic events affected the A.N.C, and South Africa as a country. In the run-up to the 2009 general elections, the following factors are worth noting: the A.N.C. entered the fourth democratic national election as a divided political party, in which the former president of South Africa, Mr. Thabo Mbeki, was forced to resign in September 2008,

only as the executive president of the Republic of South Africa (Webb 2008). He had been defeated by Mr. Jacob Zuma at the A.N.C National Conference in 2007 for the post of A.N.C President. The resignation of Mr. Mbeki was followed by a group breaking away from the A.N.C. led by the then Minister of Defence, Mr. Mosiuoa Lekota, to form a new political party, the Congress of the People (henceforth C.O.P.E.) (Rossouw & Webb 2008). Mr. Mbeki was replaced by Mr Kgalema Motlanthe who was elected in 2008 as a president by parliament of the Republic of South Africa (Webb 2008). By January of 2008, South Africa had experienced unparalleled electricity rationing owing to the ageing of its electricity infrastructure, and the growing economy which had caused this extraordinary demand for electricity. In his state of the nation address, President Mbeki had repeatedly apologised to the nation that the government had underestimated the growing electricity demand in South Africa because of its economic growth (Mbeki 2008). The South African economy had been growing consistently by 5 percent between 2007 and 2008 until the financial crisis of 2009. Thus, in 2008, the A.N.C. launched a campaign declaring “war on poverty”, particularly in the deprived areas of South Africa such as the townships and rural areas (Bond 2010). During the leadership of Mr. Kgalema Motlanthe, South Africa made significant strides in combating the H.I.V./AIDS pandemic by providing Antiretroviral (A.R.V.) drugs to patients infected with H.I.V. By the end of 2012, more than two million H.I.V. patients were receiving A.R.V. medication for free in public health centres (Sulaiman 2012).

After the 2009 national elections, Mr. Jacob Zuma was sworn in as the state president of the Republic of South Africa and the president of the A.N.C. political party. Under his leadership from 2009 to 2014, South Africa was beset by the numerous economic and political challenges. However, this study mentions only the major highlights: firstly, the global financial crises of 2008–2009 negatively affected the South African economy in that, foreign direct investment declined from R74.4 billion in 2008 to R11.4 billion in 2010 (Roberts 2011). Secondly, by 2012, South Africa had experienced unprecedented labour unrest in the platinum

mines belonging to Lonimin in the North-West Province, where impoverished mine labourers were demanding total wages of R12 500 per month. The labour protest resulted in a violent clash with police, in which 34 miners lost their lives and 78 were injured by the heavily armed police force (Rees 2012). Thirdly, South Africa experienced increased service delivery protests in which poorer communities, predominantly in the townships and villages, demanded services such as free housing, electricity, roads and water. Fourthly, corruption scandals, the mismanagement of public funds in government, increased political patronage, and the implications of corruption in the construction of President Zuma's private residential home in Nkandla gained media attention and tainted the image of both the A.N.C. and the government of South Africa. Lastly, the expulsion of the then A.N.C. Youth League president, Mr Julius Malema, who later (in the run-up to the 2014 general elections) formed a political party called the Economic Freedom Fighters (E.F.F.). The E.F.F. brought fierce opposition to the A.N.C.-led government (Pillay 2013).

The brief background has outlined the political and socio-economic state of the A.N.C. party in the run-up to the 2009 and 2014 national elections campaigns. These campaigns coincided with significant changes in the political communication landscape in South Africa, and in turn led to the advent of television political advertisements,² the first since the introduction of television in South Africa in 1976 (Sindane 2010).

Various scholars of political communication argue for the importance of such campaign advertisements. For instance, Lynda Lee Kaid and Christina Holtz-Bacha (2006:3) argue that the use of election campaign television commercials is significant in that political parties present themselves to the electorate via television, thereby increasing the electorate's knowledge about political parties, and voter decision making (Kaid & Holtz-Bacha 2006:3). Several scholars also maintain that political television advertisements promote and sustain a healthy democratic political culture. This, in turn, maximises political representation, encourages political competition and participation, and uphold the values of free and fair elections and strengthen democracy (cf. Fourie 2003:300;

² In this study the concept "political television advertisements" is used interchangeably with "election campaign television commercials".

Kaid & Holtz-Bacha 2006:3; Airne & Benoit 2007:474; Kaid 2004; Kaid & Johnstone 2001; Fourie 2013:300; Kaid and Noggle 1998). Still yet, several researchers favour election campaign television commercials because they claim that they can measure the effects of such commercials on voter decision-making behaviour (cf. Kaid 2004; Kaid & Johnstone 2001). Previous research has also shown that academics are concerned with understanding the functioning of political television commercials (through qualitative and quantitative content analysis) (Airne & Benoit 2007:474). These include the “positive”, “negative”, “attack”, and “defence” functions. Their research is extended to include “issues”, “image”, “policy” and “style”, of political parties (Airne & Benoit 2007:474). Further studies in this field focus on purely quantitative content analysis, which includes different video styles and production techniques in political television commercials (cf. Kaid & Johnstone 2001).

Although the consensus is that political television commercials are significant in increasing voter knowledge, participation and sustaining democracy, there is growing concern among scholars of political communication with regards to ethics. Kaid and Noggle (1998), for example, are critical of the credibility of political television advertisements. They argue that they pose a threat to democracy in that their content can be deceptive, misleading, manipulative, and sometimes, even untruthful, about political issues. This results in the electorate being inundated with information which is inaccurate, ambiguous, and clouded with emotion, which thereby undermines the democratic values / ethics of individual decision making.

Besides the above studies of political television advertising, to date there is a paucity of sound literature on political advertising that supports *qualitative* content analysis of election campaign television commercials. However, the available literature focuses heavily on U.S. presidential candidate election campaigns as opposed to political party elections. However, there are a few relevant studies on political television commercials in South Africa, but none of these have studied the phenomenon from a social semiotic approach (with a focus on the visual, verbal and non-verbal rhetoric analyses) (cf. Sindane 2010; *Chapter Four: Part III Literature Review: Semiotics and Social Semiotics*)

The above concludes the background to the study, and the next section contextualises the historical overview of South African politics and political advertising, as well as presents a brief overview the (theoretical) concept of political advertising.

1.2.2 Historical overview of politics in South Africa

The political history of South Africa can be narrated from the early contact between Europeans of Dutch and German descent, who were brought into South Africa by the *Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie* (henceforth, V.O.C.) commonly known as the Dutch East India Company, which first settled in the Cape of Good Hope in the mid-17th century. Their settlements were amongst the San people of the southern coast of South Africa. The early European (Afrikaner) settlers were left to fend for themselves with little or no assistance from the V.O.C., and thus to survive, they were compelled by circumstances to steal the Khoisan livestock and plunder land by force from the indigenous people of the Cape (Mashele & Qobo 2014:19). By 1803, South African politics took another developmental turn when Britain took control of the Cape Colony from the Dutch. The British, like the Dutch, brutally occupied the land of the Xhosa³ people and forcibly stole thousands of head of cattle and sheep from them in the southern parts of South Africa (Thompson 2014:35). The occupation of the European settlers in South Africa becomes increasingly eminent in the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910 between the English and the Afrikaner minorities, who sought total control of South Africa, to the exclusion of the black majority of South Africans. The political developments of 1910, led to the formation of the black political organisation named the South African Native National Congress (henceforth, S.A.N.N.C.) in 1912. Later, this organisation evolved into the African National Congress (henceforth, A.N.C.). The founding of the S.A.N.N.C. was to protest the exclusion of black Africans (the majority) from the Union Government, and to defend their rights and privileges against white supremacy (Holland 2012:29; Mashele & Qobo 2014:34). From 1910 to 1948, the Union Government of South Africa enacted several discriminatory and segregation laws aimed at black South Africans. The most notable, of the time, was the Native Land Act of 1913, which dispossessed and prohibited black South Africans from land ownership

³ An African indigenous ethnic group living largely in the Eastern Cape and Western Cape Provinces of South Africa.

beyond tribal lines. As South Africa was industrializing during World War II, because of the earlier discovery of diamond and gold, black South Africans were increasingly employed in the manufacturing industries and gold mines of Johannesburg. At the same time, many were subjected to poor employment conditions, such as lower wages compared to unskilled White Afrikaner labourers who earned better wages. In protest to poor conditions of employment, many black labourers joined trade unions demanding better working conditions (Thompson 2014). In 1948, the National Party (henceforth, N.P.),⁴ formed in 1915 came to power. It created and discriminated against blacks, coloured and Indians (very much like the previous Union Government). The N.P. enacted laws, such as the Population Registration Act of 1950 and the Pass Laws, which enforced racial classification and restricted the movement of black people in urban areas. In response, blacks, coloureds and Indians increasingly protested against these forms of discrimination and segregation. For example, organisations such as the South African Congress of Trade Union (henceforth, S.A.C.T.U.) which constituted of the A.N.C, South African Indian Congress (henceforth S.A.I.C), South African Congress of Democrats (henceforth S.A.C.O.D), and C.P.C (henceforth, Coloured People Congress) which produced the Freedom Charter document calling for equal rights to accessing health, education and the law, just to mention a few. They further demanded that all apartheid laws and practices be abandoned. In 1960, a significant pass law protest led by the Pan Africanist Congress (henceforth, P.A.C.) a political organisation, resulted in the massacre of 69 people in Sharpeville by the police force of the N.P. government. The aftermath of the Sharpeville massacre led to the formation of the military wing of the A.N.C., *Umkhonto We Sizwe*,⁵ formed for carrying out a violent and armed resistance against the oppressive apartheid government (Van England & Rudolph 2012:13). The Sharpeville massacre also led to the banning of anti-apartheid political parties such as the A.N.C.

⁴ The National Party (N.P.) was a political party in South Africa founded in 1915, a governing party from 1948 until 1994. The party was responsible for the formation of the discriminatory policies of apartheid, the establishment of the Republic of South Africa and the promotion of Afrikaans culture. Owing to the increased pressure against apartheid, the N.P. sought the release of all political prisoners in South Africa, including Mr Nelson Mandela, the unbanning of all the political parties including the A.N.C. and the returning of all exiled political activists. The N.P. lost the first democratic elections to the A.N.C. in 1994, and in 2005, the party was disbanded, under the new name of the New National Party (N.N.P.).

⁵ The *isiZulu* and *isiXhosa* words for the “spear of the nation”.

and the P.A.C., *Umkhonto We Sizwe* was also banned in South Africa and set up training camps in different parts of Africa such as in Angola, Tanzania, and in the end Uganda. Thus, from the 1960s to the middle of the 1980s South Africa incarcerated many anti-apartheid activists such as Mr. Nelson Mandela, Mr. Walter Sisulu, Mr. Govan Mbeki and Mr. Robert Sobukwe for lengthy prison sentences in Robbin Island, and others such as Mr. Steve Biko were killed by the police during interrogation. Many of the political prisoners were from different parties such as the A.N.C., P.A.C., A.Z.A.P.O. (Azanian People's Organisation), U.D.F. (United Democratic Front), S.A.C.P. (South African Communist Party) as well as trade unions. Some political activists sought to leave South Africa such as Mr. Oliver Tambo and Mr. Thabo Mbeki of the A.N.C. were in exile in African countries and later Europe and North America. Others went as far as the former Soviet Union (Soudien 2012:211). In the 1970s, the N.P. government, in its effort to intensify the hegemony of Afrikaans, tried to enforce the use of Afrikaans as the official language of tuition for black high schools throughout South Africa. This decision led to the Soweto uprisings by masses of primary and high school students. The protest on 16 June 1976 saw the killing of scores of young people by the police. The aftermath of the Soweto uprising led to more than 4 000 young people fleeing South Africa, many of whom joined the A.N.C. and other anti-apartheid political parties such as the P.A.C., in exile. By the 1980s, the apartheid government was increasingly unresponsive, repressive and heavily armed with military arsenal to violently suppress anti-apartheid activists such as the U.D.F. Armed forces patrolled in the townships. In the 1980s it became increasingly clear that the N.P. government was under enormous international pressure to end apartheid. For one thing, the South African economy was failing because of economic sanctions. At the same time, the A.N.C. (in exile) was losing financial and military support from the Soviet Union as a result of the end of the Cold War between the Soviet Union and the West (Western Europe and North America). In 1989, Mr F.W. de Klerk, then the leader of the N.P. took over as the president of South Africa. He immediately proceeded to officially end apartheid and call for the release of all political prisoners while unbanning all anti-apartheid political parties (Welsh 2015:36-35).

The Convention for a Democratic South Africa (henceforth C.O.D.E.S.A. I) was

held in 1991; C.O.D.E.S.A.II was held in May 1992 but ended in a deadlock. Therefore, a new process commenced in early 1993, called the M.P.N.P, with different participants reached a consensus among all participating members of different political representatives, following which, the first South African general election were held on 26-28 April 1994, in which all South Africans of different races could exercise their democratic right to elect a government of their choice (Deegan 2011:80-82).

Since 1994, South Africa has been a constitutional and parliamentary-representative democracy and has held five democratic national and provincial elections facilitated by the Independent Electoral Commission of South Africa (henceforth, I.E.C.). According to the South African Constitution of 1996, South Africa has a political party-based electoral system and not a political candidate electoral system. Parliament consists of the political parties that are represented at the national, provincial and local levels of government. At the national and provincial levels of the electoral system, elections occur every five years and representation is based on the party list. That means, elections occur simultaneously on the two separate ballot papers to elect a political party representative for the national and provincial legislature. The National Assembly (henceforth, N.A.) has 400 seats, while at the provincial level, elections are held for the nine provincial legislatures. The National Council of Provinces (henceforth, N.C.O.P.) is the parliamentary chamber representing the nine provinces and its members are constituted after the national and provincial elections (10 members per province).

In the local sphere of the electoral system, local government elections are held every five years to elect individual, directly councillors per ward (50 % of all seats) and party representatives by means of proportional representative(the remaining 50%). The South African local sphere of government consists of 257 municipalities divided into three categories of municipalities, namely metropolitan, local and district municipalities. Although the three spheres of the electoral system are significant to democracy in South Africa, this specific study focuses largely on pre-election campaign television commercials of the A.N.C. geared towards the national and provincial electoral spheres of governance. As local elections are held separately from national and provincial elections, the study of local elections is beyond the scope of this study.

According to Welsh (2015:146), the representation of political parties in all three spheres of the electoral system is significant in that it is regarded as inclusive, encourages coalitions and, most importantly, contributes towards increased service delivery, nation building or social cohesion.

Given the above, South Africa held five free and fair general elections between 1994 and 2014, in which the A.N.C. consecutively won all five national elections with sufficient margins to dominate the legislative process. However, in the recent national elections of 2014, the A.N.C.'s dominant political position was increasingly challenged by opposition political parties such as the Democratic Alliance (D.A.),⁶ and the Economic Freedom Fighters (E.F.F.). In the 2006 local elections, the A.N.C. lost the City of Cape Town. During the 2009 national elections, the A.N.C. lost the Western Cape Province. In the 2011 local elections, the A.N.C. lost the Midvaal municipality in Gauteng Province (Pillay 2011).

On the issue of governance, the image of the A.N.C. is of concern, as there has been a growing tendency among A.N.C. members who are politically connected within the party and government to use the state as a vehicle to access wealth and for personal advancement to the detriment of broader South African society, particularly the poor. In the 2014 national elections, the A.N.C. won with decreased numbers from 65.9 percent in 2009 to 62.15 percent which indicates that the party is slowly losing its support among South Africans (Quintal 2014).

The foregoing section of this chapter briefly explored the political history of South Africa from the mid-17th century to 2014. The next section focuses on an overview of the historical development of the concept of political advertising.

1.2.3 Historical overview of the concept political advertising

The early understanding of the concept of political advertising is that it was a means by which political parties present themselves to electorates through the free media (Kaid

⁶ The present South African official opposition party was called the Progressive Party when it was formed in the late 1950s as the main opposition party to the then N.P. government. Today, the Democratic Alliance (D.A.) previously known as the Democratic Party (D.P.) is the official opposition party to the A.N.C. government.

1981:3). The free media suggest that political parties appear in the media without having to pay for advertising space. According to Dan Schnur (1999:11), the use of the free media suggests that political advertising was seen as news making of a particular political party associated largely with a particular political issue. The downside of free coverage, however, is that journalistic selection and production criteria apply, and that the political actors cannot influence when, for how long and how the political commercial is covered in the media channel. With the advent of television media technology in United States of America (U.S.) in the 1950s, political advertising increasingly became a competitive phenomenon, which required creative ideas of how to grab attention and influence audience attitudes towards a particular political candidate. It is through these developments that the understanding of political advertising became a paid-form of communication. In her seminal work entitled, *Political Advertising*, Lynda Lee Kaid (1981:250) considered political advertising as a communication process by means of which a political party purchases the opportunity to expose audiences through mass media channels to political messages with the intended effect of influencing their attitudes, beliefs and behaviour about a specific political candidate. Since the aspect of payment is significant in political advertising, it gives the political party the right to control the form and content of the message. Thus, many editors in those days viewed political advertising on television as “moving images programming that is designed to promote the interest” of a political party (Holtz-Bacha & Kaid 1995:2). Others viewed political advertising as an entertainment device designed to arouse audience’s attention (Kern 1989:1-3). This means that political advertising was seen as a paid form of a political message, used to entertain, arouse and attempt to provoke audience reaction by means of the political messages. The notion of entertainment in political advertisement was more pronounced in the 1952 U.S. presidential election animated commercial, “*I like Ike for President*” of Dewey Eisenhower, a Republican candidate. The commercial used the animation and solo-music genres popular in the late 1940s after World War II (Killmeier & Christiansen 2011).

Today, the understanding of the concept political advertising has changed significantly. The media environment has changed significantly, and nowadays political advertising refers to the purchase and the use of advertising space, paid for at the commercial rate in order to transmit political messages to the masses.

Purchase at the commercial rate is used for payment of radio, television, print, billboards, and more recently, the increasing use of internet online media platforms such as social media networks (Schnur 1999:143). Given the variety of media vehicles used for political advertising, this specific study is concerned with political television commercials.

The preceding section explored the theoretical nature of the concept of political advertising. The next section contextualises the historical development of political advertising in South Africa.

1.2.4 Political advertising in South Africa

Political advertising in South Africa can be traced back to the first South African general elections of 1910,⁷ (Du Preez 1988:28). In those early years, voting was limited to educated, white males who owned property. At that time, political advertising took the form of public meetings and newspaper editorials (Seidman 2007:24). As part of the political advertisement campaign, it was common among political parties such as the South African Party (S.A.P.), the Unionist Party (U.P.), the Independent and the South African Labour Party (S.A.L.P.) to use election manifestos which described what they wished to do once in government as part of election campaigning (Kleynhans 1987:51). During this election campaigning exercise, political party manifestos were publicised in the form of flyers, pamphlets and handbills (Roberts 1971:122). Another form of political advertising in early South African elections was the use of posters. According to Du Preez (1988:10), political advertising posters in South Africa started in the 1920 general elections with the S.A.N.P. using posters which promised tax reductions among the farming communities of the Transvaal province.⁸

⁷ The year 1910 marks the formation of the Union of South Africa, which later become the Republic of South Africa in the 1960s under the N.P. government.

⁸ From 1994, the Transvaal region was divided into four different provinces, namely the Gauteng, Limpopo, Mpumalanga and North West Provinces.

Although largely white political parties used political advertising for election campaigns, political advertising was also used to express the voices of the oppressed black population on issues of unfair labour practices, the injustices of colonialism and later the anti-Apartheid struggle (Limb 2010:161). Early forms of anti-colonial and anti-apartheid political advertising involved a mixture of publicity events such as the conferences, funerals, songs and mass protest rallies.

Publicity then, included the use of newspapers such as *Isigimi samaXhosa*,⁹ (1870), *Imvo-Zabantsundu*,¹⁰ (1884), *Izwi-laBantu*,¹¹ (1891), *The South African Spectator* (1901), *Koranta Ya Bachuana*,¹² (1901) and the *Abantu-Batho*,¹³ (1912). The development of mediated political advertising in those early years, suggests that political advertising evolved from an interpersonal form of communication experienced by a few groups of people to mass audiences. During the founding of the S.A.N.N.C. in 1912, the *Abantu-Batho* newspaper, an affiliate of the S.A.N.N.C, was concerned with reporting on matters affecting black South Africans, such as unfair labour practices and oppressive government policies such as the Land Act of 1913 and the women's pass laws (Limb 2010:318). However, in the early 1920s, the South African Communist Party, published flyers and pamphlets such as *Umsebenzi*,¹⁴ to advertise political messages and images of anti-apartheid and anti-colonial activists. The images of political advertising were basic, in that they involved a portrait depicting the head and shoulders of political activists (Seidman 2007:26). Later in the 1950s, during the adoption of the Freedom Charter, the use of banners, placards and leaflets was a common form of political advertising. These advertising mediums were used during public mass protests and depicted graphic symbols of the A.N.C. colours which are green, gold and black, as well as the logo, which depicts a wheel with spikes, a shield, a fist clutching a spear and a small flag of the A.N.C. colours that promoted the political party (Seidman 2007:37).

From the 1970s to the 1980s, political advertising depicting messages of resisting and opposing the apartheid government in South Africa intensified. For instance, the Soweto

⁹ *isiXhosa* language for *The Xhosa Messenger*.

¹⁰ *isiXhosa* language for the *African Opinion*.

¹¹ *isiZulu* and *isiXhosa* languages for the *Voice of the People*.

¹² *Setswana* language for the *Newspaper of Batswana*.

¹³ *isiZulu* and *Sesotho* languages for *People*.

¹⁴ *isiZulu* and *isiXhosa* languages for *Workers*.

student uprising of 16 June 1976 ushered a new means of political advertising. Individual activists had to produce handmade anti-apartheid banners, placards and T-shirts which were used to defy the then government. In the early 1980s, similar handmade banners, placards and T-shirts were used to promote labour protests such as the Meat Strike,¹⁵ and the Wilson Rowntree Sweet Boycott,¹⁶ (Louw & Tomaselli 1991:196).

At the height of the use of printed posters for political advertising, a black community newspaper *Grassroots*, the *New Nation*, *Vrye Weekblad*, *Saamstaan* (Oudtshoorn) and several others were established in the early 1980s (Louw & Tomaselli 1991). The *Grassroots* community newspaper was active in advertising anti-apartheid political messages. The newspaper was involved in the advertising of community issues and labour actions. Political advertising furthermore, was enhanced by the formation of the anti-apartheid civic movement, the U.D.F. in 1983 (Louw & Tomaselli 1991:19). The U.D.F. led to the production of a huge amount of political promotional (advertising) material such as badges, banners, posters and T-shirts. The first South African democratic general elections of 1994 changed the landscape of political advertising in South Africa, in that radio, newspapers, posters and flyers were used by different political parties for election campaign commercials in the 1994, 1999, and 2004 general and provincial; government election campaigns.

In light of the above historical developments of political advertising in South Africa, in the fourth democratic general election of 2009, South Africa showed significant developments in political advertising by introducing political television advertising on the national television broadcasting stations of the South African Broadcasting Corporation (S.A.B.C.).¹⁷ Despite the fact that television broadcasting began in South Africa in 1976,

¹⁵ Meat workers in May 1981 under the Western Province General Workers Union (W.P.G.W.U.) at Table Bay cold storage went on a 12-week labour strike which crippled the meat supply to Cape Town.

¹⁶ Three workers in February 1981 at Wilson-Rowntree Sweet Factory in East London in the Eastern Cape Province of South Africa were dismissed over their union membership of the South African Allied Workers Union (S.A.A.W.U.). Three days after their dismissal, another 500 workers joined in the strike action over the dismissal of the original three employees. Thus, they were all fired for striking. Given these developments, in response, the community of East London joined in support of the workers.

¹⁷ The S.A.B.C. is a South African national broadcasting institution established in 1936, at that time broadcasting only in radio, and introducing television broadcasts early in 1976. Today, the S.A.B.C. broadcasts on three main television channels namely S.A.B.C. 1, 2 and 3. As such, S.A.B.C. 1 and 2 are considered public service channels, while S.A.B.C. 3 is a public service commercial channel.

political advertising on television was not allowed until November 2008 by the Independent Communication Authority of South Africa (I.C.A.S.A.) (I.C.A.S.A. 2008). From 2008, political advertising on television became popularised and was broadcasted by the S.A.B.C, which has three public service channels, S.A.B.C. 1; S.A.B.C. 2; and S.A.B.C. 3; as well as the independent commercial channel e-TV.

Prior to these developments in political television commercials, political advertising was allowed only on radio. According to the South African cultural, communication and media scholar, Teer-Tomaselli (2006:434), the reason that political television advertising in South Africa was prohibited is because it was an expensive exercise and television advertising was seen to be a powerful form of persuasion, which could undermine democracy.

Another concern about political commercials on television in South Africa is that the practice is a commodification of politics. According to Sindane (2014:2), the commodification of politics suggests a process whereby political parties are sold as products or commodities through the use of intended settings, and production techniques which include camera movement, lighting, shadow and musical background as well as verbal and non-verbal codes such as: dress codes, furniture items and political parties' brand logos and colours involved in the video production of the political television advertisement. Commodification of politics is also seen as a process that views audiences as consumers rather than citizens, who have a greater choice of political parties to listen to and the choice of media channels such as the internet, radio, print and television. Sindane (2014:3), however, argues that the commodification process of political commercials can be to depoliticise and create political apathy among citizens whereby they became less involved in public affairs. Having briefly presented the historical overview of the concept of political advertising in the context of South Africa, the next section focuses on the aims of the study.

1.3 AIMS OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this study was to ascertain four key areas. Firstly, the study set out to ascertain whether latent and manifest ideological meanings are represented in the selected A.N.C. political television commercials by making use of the social semiotic research approach.

Secondly, through the use of social semiotics as a research methodology, the study endeavoured to deconstruct the latent and manifest meaning of non-verbal, verbal and visual rhetoric in the political television advertisements. Thirdly, it attempted to identify the underlying latent and manifest ideological meaning of the non-verbal, verbal and visual rhetoric represented in the selected A.N.C. political television commercials. Fourthly, it set out to ascertain whether the Afrocentric and/or Eurocentric postcolonial philosophical perspectives are represented in the commercials. The final aim was to compare whether there are any forms of similarities or differences in the selected commercials.

1.4 RELEVANCE OF THE TOPIC AND RELATION TO THE DISCIPLINE OF COMMUNICATION

The topic of political television advertisement is relevant to communication studies in that political advertising belongs to the sub-field of communication known as political communication. Political communication originated with philosophers and scholars of politics and rhetoric in ancient Greece and Rome, such as Aristotle, Plato and Cicero, who at the time, were concerned with public communication in the political context (Reinemann 2014:3). Political communication as a core field of media and communication studies, is an interdisciplinary field of study, which has brought together scholars from different theoretical approaches such as film theory, marketing communication, public relations and political theory, research methodology such as quantitative and qualitative research design and academic disciplines such as media and communication studies and political science. Thus, Denton and Kuypers (2008:30) as well as Kaid (1996:448) defines political communication as a broad and interdisciplinary field of study, involved in the strategic process of the construction, transmission and reception of political messages in which language and symbols are employed by political leaders and political parties, and the media is used with the intention of having a direct or indirect impact on the persuasion of the public to change the attitudes and individual behaviour that have a bearing on the public policy of the nation. What stands out from the above definition is the strategic use of different verbal, non-verbal and visual rhetoric by politicians and media organisations, with the aim of persuading and influencing political audiences or members of the public in favour of a political view.

This means that key to political communication, is the communication between a political party and defined political audiences. Bruce Newman (1999:355) points out the following four areas by which political messages can be strategically communicated to a defined public audience: political public relations, personal contact, political advertising through traditional media, and interactive media technology such as the world-wide web. Nimmo and Sanders (1981), however, view political advertising as the modes and means of persuasive communication in politics. The persuasive nature of political television advertisements suggests the significance of the nature of the visual, non-verbal and verbal rhetoric to this specific study.

In light of the origins of political communication in the field of rhetoric and the strategic use of communication, which is suggestive of advertising in the context of a political environment, this study is relevant to the field of communication. Political advertising has been a major research focus of political communication in that scholars have focused largely on election campaign advertising. The relevance of the topic of this study in the South African context is that political television advertisements are a new phenomenon, which only began in the 2009 general elections, while in countries such as the U.S., political television advertising has been studied since the early 1950s with the first appearance of the animated commercials, already mentioned, namely *"I like Ike for President"* of Dewey Eisenhower, a Republican presidential candidate (Diamond & Bates 1992). In addition, the relevance of this topic is that many of the previous studies of political television advertisements (Biocca 1991; Kaid & Holtz-Bacha 1995; Grabe & Bucy 2009; Johnston 2006) focus on the quantitative and empirical research methodology used in the analysis of political television commercials. Other studies of this kind of advertising have focused on the evaluation of the effects of such commercials on audiences (Kaid, Fernandes & Painter 2011).

However, certain studies of political television advertising have focused on negative political advertisement which is prohibited in South Africa by I.C.A.S.A. In the seminal work of Karen Johnson-Cartee and Gat Copeland (1996) on negative political advertising, it was found that the effects of negative political advertising degrade the perceptions of an opponent. Their study also found that negative political advertising evokes negative effects towards both the targeted opponent and the sponsor.

Thus, this study is significant for the following four main reasons:

Firstly, it is different to the aforementioned studies in that, through the interpretivist or hermeneutic element of qualitative content analysis, it reveals both the inherent latent meaning and the obvious manifest meaning of the communication messages of the A.N.C. political television commercials.

Secondly, the underlying political history of South Africa and the state of the socio-economic and socio-political environment in South Africa at the time when the political television commercials were produced, is significant in its contribution towards the creation of social meaning. Hence the use of the social semiotic theoretical approach and the social semiotic research framework is relevant to the study in that they deconstruct the underlying meaning and ideologies of the visual, verbal and non-verbal rhetoric of the selected commercials.

Thirdly, given that political television advertising is a new phenomenon in South Africa, the study makes a contribution to the field of political television advertising in the South African context. The work of Sibongile Sindane (2010) entitled *The Rise of Political Advertising on Television in South Africa and its Implication for Democracy*, focuses largely on the “commodification” of South African politics in political television commercials, which came into effect in 2009.

Fourthly, the study is an interdisciplinary study that borrows from three significant fields of communication, namely, political communication with a primary focus on political advertising, cultural studies with a specific focus on social semiotics and television and film studies, and philosophy with a principal focus on the representation of the Afrocentric and Eurocentric/Western-centric philosophical constructs in the form of visual, verbal and non-verbal rhetoric in the commercials.

In the light of the relevance of the topic, the next section covers the research methodology used in the study.

1.5 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND STRATEGY

This specific study used the social semiotic qualitative content analysis research methodology. Thus, the research design for this specific study was qualitative content analysis using the social semiotic research methodology.

In *Chapter Five: Research Methodology* of this study, which is primarily focused on the research methodology, the main problem statement and the main research questions are formulated. The main research question sought to determine the following: what is the underlying latent and manifest meaning, ideologies, non-verbal, verbal and visual rhetoric of the two selected 2009 advertisements and the only 2014 A.N.C. television political advertisement?. The objectives of the study are explorative, descriptive, interpretative and comparative in nature. Data collection involved the collection of primary data that needs to be analysed. In this specific study, the data analysis involves the latent and manifest codes of three A.N.C. political television commercials, namely the *My Vote* and the *Woman Next Door* 2009 election campaign television commercials and the *2014 A.N.C. Television Election Campaign Commercial* (henceforth, abbreviated to: *2014 A.N.C. Commercial*). The sampling of the foregoing 2009 political television commercial data, was motivated largely by distinct policy differences such as rural development represented in the *My Vote* and women empowerment policy represented in the *Woman Next Door*. As for the 2014 national election campaign, the A.N.C. used only one election television commercial, namely the *2014 A.N.C. Commercial*. The use of the *2014 A.N.C. Commercial* was motivated largely by the representation of the advanced and capitalist economy of South Africa.

The sampling for this specific study was non-probability sampling, and as such, the 2009 commercials and the 2014 A.N.C. political television commercial were sampled from a population of different pre-election campaign television commercials that campaigned during the 2009 national elections, in which the main political parties were the African Christian Democratic Party (A.C.D.P.), Congress of the People (C.O.P.E.), Democratic Alliance (D.A.), Freedom Front Plus (F.F.P), Inkatha Freedom Party (I.F.P.), Independent Democrats (I.D.), and United Democratic Movement (U.D.M.) (Sindane 2010:84). For the 2014 national elections, the main political parties were the A.C.D.P , C.O.P.E., D.A., E.F.F., F.F.P, I.F.P., I.D. and the U.D.M. All the above-mentioned political parties' political television commercials were broadcast on the S.A.B.C., and e- TV,¹⁸ television channels.

¹⁸ e-TV is a South African commercial television channel established in 1998

The time dimension of this specific study was longitudinal since it compared the A.N.C. election campaign television commercials from 2009 to 2014. In addition, the study followed a deductive research methodological approach in the collection, interpretation and conclusion of the identified data.

The next section briefly introduces the relevant theoretical approaches of this study.

1.6 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY

This study explored the rhetoric of two postcolonial worldviews, namely the Afrocentric and Eurocentric perspectives. The Afrocentric theory is concerned with the positioning and the representation of the African rhetoric which is unique to African society in the political communication texts such as political television advertisements (Asante 1988:35). The opposite of the Afrocentric theory is the Eurocentric theoretical perspective which is synonymous with the Western-centric approach. The key theoretical universal assumption of the Eurocentric perspective is the emphasis on viewing communication rhetoric from a Western European and North American perspective, or the Western perspective to be precise. That means that the Western-centric approach places the emphasis on Western norms, concerns, cultures, practices and values at the expense of non-Western societies (Asante 1987). Thus, the above theoretical perspectives are significant in the analysis of verbal, non-verbal and visual rhetoric in a mediated text such as an election campaign television commercial.

Another theory which is significant to this specific study is the social semiotic theory of Michael Halliday (1978), Gunther Hodge (1988) and Theo van Leeuwen (2005) which recognizes the significance of the social environment in the production and creation of social meaning in the media text environment.

1.7 CONTRIBUTIONS AND LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

It is important to point out that this study has made a number of significant contributions to the political communication landscape in South Africa. Firstly, political television commercials are a new phenomenon in South African national electoral communication.

Secondly, although Sindane (2010) has conducted a study on the rise of political television advertising in South Africa, her study is of a quantitative research design. The significant contribution of this specific study is that, it is the first study of its kind in South Africa which focuses specifically on qualitative research design in the analysis of political television advertising. Thirdly, this specific study makes another significant contribution in that it focuses solely on social semiotics as the main theoretical approach and social semiotics as a research methodology, while other studies have focused on the traditional approach to semiotics. Fourthly, the study is comparative and longitudinal in nature, and specifically focuses on the A.N.C. elections commercials in 2009 and 2014. Fifthly, another significant contribution of this specific study is that, it is an interdisciplinary study which cuts across political communication with a specific focus on political television advertising and cultural studies, with a special focus on television studies and social semiotic theories as well as the Afrocentric and Western-centric philosophical approaches.

However, a number of limitations were identified in this specific study. First, in the reviewing of the literature on political television advertising, there is limited literature specifically on South African election campaign television commercials, given that this form of television advertising is a new phenomenon in South Africa. Thus, the study had to borrow literature from U.S. presidential election television commercials, while the South African electoral system is political-party based. Second, there is limited literature on political television advertising that specifically uses social semiotics as the main theoretical approach and the main research framework. Many studies such as those of Carey Jewitt and Rumiko Oyama (2001) and Rick Iedema (2001) pertained to social semiotic theoretical approaches and research methodology. However, these studies focused largely on commercial health products promotion.

Another limitation worth noting is that this study sampled only A.N.C. political television commercials and not the political television commercials of the opposition political parties.

The major reason this specific study focused primarily on the A.N.C.'s political television commercials were that, during the 2009 and 2014 national elections, the A.N.C. was the only political party that had multiple political television commercials which represented a range of policy issues such as rural development, women empowerment, youth development, small business enterprises, education and training. Other opposition political parties' political television commercials such as the D.A. focused on negative political advertising, which is prohibited in South Africa according to I.C.A.S.A. regulations (I.C.A.S.A.2009). The foregoing sections briefly outlined the nature of this study.

The next section provides the chapter layout of the study.

1.8 LAYOUT OF THE THESIS

The study is divided into eight chapters (including the present chapter). *Chapter Two: Literature Review (Part I): Afrocentric and Eurocentric Theories* discusses these two theoretical approaches. Afrocentrism and Eurocentrism are significant to this study in that they shape and influence the nature of the verbal, non-verbal and visual rhetoric of two worldviews, namely, the African perspective and the Western perspective. They are also significant to this study in that they point out the differences in the production of the media texts in question. *Chapter Three: Literature review (Part II): Verbal and Non-verbal Rhetoric* focuses on the nature of verbal and non-verbal rhetoric in the context of political advertisements. The chapter draws examples from different scholars, such as Lynda Lee Kaid (1981) and Lynnette Fourie (2007). *Chapter Four: Literature Review (Part III): Social semiotics* briefly describes the nature of the traditional semiotic approach as well as the social semiotic theoretical approach. The chapter further points out that social semiotics is also used a methodology, with different "tools", or dimensions which are useful in the analysis of the underlying and obvious meaning of the verbal and visual rhetoric in the media texts. *Chapter Five: Research Methodology* focuses on the research methodology for this study. The chapter conceptualises the problem of the study and outlines the research strategy such as the sampling method, data collection, units of analysis and time dimension.

In *Chapters Six and Seven* of this study, the analysis and the interpretation of data are presented. The former analyses the use of verbal rhetoric, and the latent and manifest meanings of the political language in all three of the sampled A.N.C. political television

commercials. While the latter, *Chapter Seven* examines the visual aspects of the sampled commercials. As such, both *Chapters Six* and *Seven* of the study make use of the social semiotic research methodological approach (qualitative content analysis) to deconstruct the inherent underlying and evident meanings of the sampled commercials. *Chapter Eight* concludes the study.

1.9 CONCLUSION

This chapter provided an overall introduction to the study. The context of the study was outlined by discussing its background and also explaining its aims and the relevance of the topic. Furthermore, the chapter provided a summary of the research methodology, theoretical foundations, contributions and limitations of the study. Lastly, the demarcations of the study were specified.

The next chapter focuses on *Part I* of the Literature Review which deals with Afrocentrism and Eurocentric / Western-centric theory.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW (PART I): AFROCENTRISM AND EUROCENTRISM / WESTERN-CENTRIC THEORY

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter focuses on the epistemic nature of two theoretical approaches, namely the Afrocentric and the Eurocentric / Western-centric,¹⁹ theoretical perspectives. The two theories are significant to this study in that they exhibit and critique two significant postcolonial world views. The Afrocentric theory is a postcolonial discourse which originates with African scholars in the diaspora, including the African continent, in North America and in Western Europe. The Afrocentric theory basically calls for African “agency”, which seeks to affirm, legitimise and privilege Africans on the global, and local stage. In contrast, the Eurocentric perspective critiques the position of Europe as an imperial power and thus assumes the universal construct that non-Western societies should be marginalised and reduced to the periphery in the global system. Under the Eurocentric perspective, the imperial Euro-America is seen to be exhibiting different colonial patterns such as economic and political powers towards marginalised societies.

Both the Afrocentric and the Eurocentric postcolonial perspectives are significant to this study in that they (are assumed to) include the underlying latent and manifest ideological meanings of the different visual, verbal and non-verbal rhetoric found in the three A.N.C. television commercials.

2.2 OVERVIEW OF THE CONCEPT OF AFROCENTRICITY

Afrocentricity originated out of the work of the early forerunners of Africans, African-American and Caribbean postcolonial intellectuals of the late 19th and early 20th century (cf. Cruse 1969; Garvey 1995; Nkrumah 1964). One such prominent intellectual of the early 20th century is Marcus Garvey, who is credited with developing Black Nationalism as an ideology in the late 1800s. Garvey’s contribution to Afrocentricity is the conceptualisation of African “agency” which calls for black “self-determination” (Garvey 1995:302). Another African political activist and intellectual was Ghanaian born,

¹⁹ The terms “Eurocentric” and “Western-centric” are synonyms and are thus used interchangeably throughout this study.

Kwame Nkrumah, whose philosophy of “consciencism”,²⁰ was rooted in his student life and experience in the U.S. and the United Kingdom (U.K.). While in the U.S., as a student in the 1950s, Nkrumah was exposed to an advanced hegemonic society that was asserting its status through intellectual and cultural dominance. In the U.K., Nkrumah was also exposed to an established view among the English, which argues that Europe holds a superior position, while Africa is viewed as inferior in the global structure. In the light of these experiences, Nkrumah in his work, *Consciencism: Philosophy and Ideology for De-colonization with Particular Reference to the African Revolution* (1964) came to believe that Africa could evolve and practise the philosophy of “consciencism” and be freed from all forms of colonialism and oppression. Nkrumah believed Africans needed a cultural and political space to pursue an ideology that could challenge the colonialism that had become deeply established within African economic, political and social structures (Nkrumah 1964). As such, colonialism by definition, is an established political and economic relation in which the sovereignty of a nation rests on the power of another nation such as Belgium, Britain, France, Germany and the Netherlands just to mention a few. The colonial powers then proceed to set up direct colonial administration over non-Europeans such as in Africa; the Caribbean nations; and South America (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013:128).

Another forerunner of the Afrocentric idea was the African-American scholar, Harold Cruse. In his two books, *The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual* (2005) and *Rebellion or Revolution: Plural but Equal* (1969), he expressed concerns for African people’s state of cultural dislocation and economic marginalisation. In his work, *Rebellion or Revolution*, Cruse (1969:48) lamented the marginalisation of African people and the African continent in the areas of arts and culture, and trade and economics. In relation to culture, Cruse (1969) maintained that Anglo-American culture has been elevated among African people at the expense of African culture. The thrust of Cruse’s (1969) argument is that there is a dislocation of Afrocentricity in post-modern African society. He further argued that whether or not Africans upheld Anglo-Saxon culture, Afrocentricity is

²⁰ Kwame Nkrumah’s philosophy of “consciencism” was later adapted to the black consciences by the South African anti-apartheid activist, Steve Biko (cf. Nkrumah 1964).

inherent in African people in that it is manifested in the manner in which they talk, walk, live their lives, sing and dance, as well as in their views about their immediate environment and the overall world around them. Cruse (1969) suggested that these behavioural patterns, however, are not consciously chosen, and are rather inherent in the process of socialisation.

Another African-Caribbean intellectual, Frantz Fanon, from the French Caribbean Colony of Martinique was concerned with how to end oppressive forms of colonialism among Africans. In his book, *The Wretched of the Earth* (1963), he argued that, on the one hand, decolonisation is a significant process that should start within African people themselves by regaining their cultural heritage. On the other hand, decolonisation should start by questioning the status quo, that has been established by colonial institutions, which entrenched Western ethics, traditions, customs and values, such that they deprived/deprive colonised people of the right to practice their own culture (Fanon 1963).

Like Fanon (1963), the following Haitians, Aimé Césaire (1972/2001);²¹ Léopold Sédar Senghor (1998);²² and, Léon-Gontran Demoas (cf. Rabaka 2015)²³ are proponents of the Negritude literary movement of the 1930s. They maintained that African people must consciously reconnect with their cultural heritage in-order-to free themselves from European hegemony (cf. Césaire 1972/2001; Demoas cited in Rabaka 2015; Fanon 1963; Mazama 2003:19; Rabaka 2015; Senghor 1998).

In the early years of the black consciousness movement, scholars of African studies, such as African-American Maulana Karenga (1977), established a black movement called *Kwaidia* (a Swahili word meaning “tradition” or “reason”). This black consciousness movement is based on an ideology of black cultural nationalism in which Karenga (1977) called for a black socio-cultural revolution that argued for the recognition of black race and black culture.

²¹ *Discourse on Colonialism*.

²² *The Collected Poetry*.

²³Rabaka (2015): *The Negritude Movement: W.E.B. du Bois, Leon Damas, Aimé Césaire, Léon-Gontran Senghor, Frantz Fanon, and the Evolution of an Insurgent Idea*.

These forerunners provide the foundational work for Molefi Asante's conceptualisation of the Afrocentric perspective. His seminal works, which include *Afrocentricity: The Theory of Social Change* (1980); *The Afrocentric Idea* (1987); and, *An Afrocentric Manifesto: Towards an African Renaissance* (2007); are the leading publications about Afrocentricism. Afrocentrism seeks to centralise and privilege African agency in the context of African history and culture. While Asante (1987) views Afrocentricity as a perspective, other scholars such as Karenga (2002), view it as a process of thought. In contrast, Mazama (2003) views Afrocentricity as a paradigm; while Danjuma Modupe (2003) views Afrocentricity as a "meta-theory" that does not seek to record African past experiences under colonialism, but rather positions Afrocentricity as a call for black people to reclaim their heritage. Despite their scholarly contributions, the concept appears to be primarily associated with Asante.

Asante (2007) views the Afrocentric perspective as an agency that seeks to privilege African history and culture. What he means by "agency", is a "human being who is capable of acting independently in his or her own interest" without being influenced by established and superior global forces (Asante 2007:58). In other words, agency means the ability of individuals to pursue acts of self-determination and excellence which belong exclusively to the people of their race or tribe. Such acts of self-determination and excellence are found largely in the areas of arts and culture, commerce, politics, innovation and technology; as well as in the perseveration of history and culture for future generations. The opposite of Asante's "agency" is his idea of "dis-agency" (Asante 2007:40; cf. Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013). Dis-agency refers to an environment where freedom is discouraged; forms of oppression are institutionalised; discrimination is based on race; gender and ethnicity; and, opposition is present. Thus, in the context of the Afrocentric perspective, Asante (2007) reasons that dis-agency has been exercised in virtually every situation applicable to the African phenomenon. Dis-agency has manifested through the marginalisation of African culture and language. It undermines the very existence and the presence, meaning and image of black people as human beings, relegating them to being objects of marginalisation and exploitation. Dis-agency has been consistently carried out to disregard and degrade Africans to the level of inferiority; and enforces discrimination through racism.

Dis-agency is also manifested through established religious institutions such as Christianity and Islam, to which millions of Africans subscribe. These religious views condemn, marginalise and oppose core African cultural practices such as ancestral worship. On the economic and political front, Afrocentric dis-agency has manifested itself through the systemic and structural exclusion of black people from strategic points in the economy. Such economic dis-agency favours aid and development rather than the free market, investment and capital. The implications of economic marginalisation have manifested themselves through forms of persistent, and unresolved, high levels of poverty and under-development among African. On the political front, dis-agency is manifested through historical violence and the oppressive systems of colonial and apartheid governance colonialism and includes civil wars and political insurgence sponsored by the Western powers (Asante 2007:40). Given the above dis-agency towards African people, Asante (2007:40) laments that it has brought an “obliteration” of the historical presence, meaning, and the image of the African race in the global structure of the world. Following from this theory, it is therefore reasonable to suggest that Afrocentricity has emerged as a process of political consciousness for African people (in the diaspora and elsewhere).

Different scholars have written on the Afrocentric approach and contributed to the discourse (cf. Hudson-Weems 1988; and Mazama 2003). One such author worth noting is Ama Mazama (2003), a linguistic scholar, born in Guadeloupe. As pointed out earlier, Mazama argues in her book, *The Afrocentric Paradigm*, that Afrocentricity is neither a worldview nor a theory, but rather a paradigm concerned with the re- conceptualisation of the historical reality of African people. Another such author, Clenora Hudson-Weems (1988) proposes, in her doctorate, entitled *Emmet Till: The Impetus for the Modern Civil Rights Movement*, a theory of “Africana Womanism”. Central to her theoretical approach, she opposes Eurocentric feminism, which is seen from the Afrocentric perspective, as the idea of woman being against men and the protection of the privileges of the white race. The last notable study on Afrocentricity relevant to this specific study, is that of Felicia Steward (2011): *Exploring Afrocentricity: An Analysis of the Discourse of Barack Obama*. Steward’s book analyses Obama’s pre- presidential speeches to uncover whether or not his verbal rhetoric characteristics are inherently Afrocentric.

In her findings, Steward (2011) points out that Obama uses a combination of Eurocentric and Afrocentric rhetoric, depending on the demographics of his audiences.

The above-mentioned studies on Afrocentrism indicate that the theory/philosophy is based on different disciplines, such as cultural studies; history; gender studies; language; politics; and speech communication. Thus, the Afrocentric perspective remains significant to this specific study in that, through this perspective, one can analyse both the visual and verbal rhetoric of the political television commercials. This study takes a closer look at Asante's "Afrocentric perspective".

2.2.1 The Afrocentric perspective

In the seminal work, *The Afrocentric Idea*, Molefi Asante (1987) exhibits a critical argument about the world structure, which is based on Eurocentric philosophy. This philosophical construct is considered valuable and important, and is a dominant ideology, as well as a universal cultural hegemony. In his work, Asante (1987) theorises that the Eurocentric phenomenon is projected as privileged and moral; and that it denies; degrades; and, suppresses non-Europeans and their cultural expressions; identity; civilisation; gender; and, religion. Thus, the Western-centric hegemony has pushed other cultures to the periphery, thereby dislocating African cultural discourse. In addition, he views the Eurocentric perspective as arrogant; mono-cultural; and mono- historical; all the while it assumes that it is *the* universal culture. Given the hegemonic stature of the Western-centric paradigm, Asante (1987) proposes that the position of Africa on the global stage should be studied through the Afrocentric perspective, which is "any point of view which places African ideals at the centre of any analysis" (Asante 1987:12). This means that all forms of African life, be it culture; economics; education; gender; history; language; psychology; politics; religion; and, social factors; are crucial and should therefore be placed at the core of African thought, and at the centre of African lived experience.

Central to this study is Asante's (2002) view that Afrocentricism, in the field of communication, is specifically concerned with rhetoric. In his essay, *The Intellectual*

Dislocation: Applying Analytical Afrocentricity to Narratives of Identity, Asante (2002) argues that the nature of Afrocentric rhetoric in the context of communication, is concerned with the structure of rhetoric which is consciously influenced largely by different African cultural assumptions. That means that the rhetoric of African communication is also influenced by cultural, economic, historical, political and social factors, such as the structure of indigenous African languages; economic status; and the historical past; which are characterised primarily by colonialism and apartheid.

Asante's Afrocentric perspective has not been without its critics, and the focus of this chapter turns to these concerns.

2.2.2 Criticism of the Afrocentric perspective

There are several studies that are critical of the Afrocentric perspective, the most notable being that of Clarence Walker (2001) in his book, *We Can't Go Home Again: An Argument about Afrocentrism*. Walker views the Afrocentric perspective as a record of a black past and a mythology that is both racist and reactionary towards whiteness. Like Walker, Patricia Hill Collins (2006), in her book, *From Black Power to Hip Hop: Racism, Nationalism and Feminism*, also claims that the Afrocentric perspective is a revolutionary discourse of black nationalism; cultural nationalism; black feminist nationalism; and black religious nationalism that undermines, and is racist against American whiteness.

Other scholars, such as Diane Ravitch (1991); Joyce Ann Joyce (2005); and, Tunde Adeleke (2009) have also expressed their concerns over the relevance and significance of the Afrocentric perspective, specifically within the field of communication studies. A New York University education scholar, Ravitch (1991:9) maintains that Afrocentricity is a "racist fundamentalist movement" which is based on claims that have not been validated by "reputable" scholars. The English scholar Joyce (2005:105) argues that the Afrocentric perspective is an "indoctrination process" and an escape from the socio- economic and political challenges facing African society. She also argues that it can be viewed as a loose "rhetoric" that only serves to divide the social cohesion of Africans in the diaspora.

Similarly, the Nigerian born history scholar, Tunde Adeleke (2009:47), argues that the Afrocentric perspective is nothing more than an attempt to discredit and assault the universalism of Eurocentric assumptions. While Mary Lefkowitz (1996:8), in her book, *Not Out of Africa: How Afrocentrism Became an Excuse to Teach Myth as History*, goes as far as asserting that the Afrocentric approach is similar to an “evangelical charismatic movement”, which lacks significant intellectual contributions towards African discourse.

Despite all these criticisms, Afrocentric theory remains significant to political television advertising, in that it contributes towards an understanding of the representation of African rhetoric from a cultural, economic, historical, political, social and African perspective, as opposed to analysing African rhetoric from a Eurocentric perspective. Furthermore, the theory contributes towards identifying and understanding various aspects of African rhetoric in the production and the use of visual and verbal aspects of rhetoric in political television advertising. The theory also helps in the identification of and differentiation between Afrocentric and Eurocentric rhetorical constructs.

The next section discusses the importance of Afrocentric theory and its canons and approaches.

2.2.3 Afrocentric theory

The Afrocentric theory is specifically concerned with the significance of African rhetoric in the *context* of communication. Within the “context of communication”, Asante (2002:98) proposes that Afrocentric rhetoric should be viewed as unique in words; images; gestures; and styles used by Afrocentric communicators to African audiences. He views African communicators applying creative and artistic efforts through the use of speech and visual materials unique to African audiences. Asante’s (1987:43) view is that Afrocentric rhetoric is a unique expression which emphasises the significance of the creation and the establishment of harmony between the African speaker and African audiences. In line with the above views, Asante (1987) proposes that Afrocentric rhetoric is influenced by four dimensions, namely the “*Nommo*”; the context of communication; and, frame of mind.

2.2.3.1 “*Nommo*”: “the powers of the word to generate and create reality”²⁴

Asante (1987:85) describes the Afrocentric rhetorical “*Nommo*” as a word full of “value-meaning” drawn from the African experience. Asante defines “*Nommo*” as “the powers of the word to generate and create reality” (1987:85). In other words, “*Nommo*” is particularly concerned with the overall uniqueness of African rhetoric and the production of meaning. Furthermore, Asante (1987) reasons that “*Nommo*”, when used in speech, produces unifying symbolic images that establish a common understanding among African people. This includes the use of vernacular metaphors; repetitions; and proverbs; which depicts and presents a unifying meaning among African people. In addition, “*Nommo*” calls for perseverance; determination; and, unity to describe black people’s life situation. In addition to the unique styles of speech, “*Nommo*” uses vibrations and dramatic expressions in speech which are unique to African oral rhetoric. The significance of the above rhetorical style of communication allows listeners to experience the essence of what is being communicated. The use of such dramatic expressions among Africans in oral speech describes the nature and the inherent and varying patterns of culture in the context of communication. In the case of South Africa’s diverse ethnic groups, for instance, it is common among the *amaNguni*,²⁵ people, to use dramatic and verbal rhetorical expressions in oral narrations to emphasise a particularly important issue under discussion, sometimes to express a sense of humour or sense of displeasure. For example, among the Xhosa people, the dramatic expression of *lyhoo*,²⁶ could suggest excitement or surprise. However, when the dramatic expression or the exclamation is used repeatedly *lyhoo!*, *lyhoo!*, *lyhoo!* it suggests a shocking experience; or a critical situation which the communicator finds himself or herself in. The same observation can be made towards the Batswana people of South Africa and Botswana respectively. The use of the exclamation *Bathong*,²⁷ is used in different contexts in communication. For example, it is used to express a shocking or critical situation in which the communicator finds himself or herself. In other situations, *Bathong!* is used to

²⁴ Cf. Asante 1987:85.

²⁵ The *AmaNguni* people of Southern Africa, constitute the *amaNdebele*; *amaSwati*; *maTsonga*; *amaZulu*; and *amaXhosa* ethnic groups.

²⁶ *lyhoo!* is a dramatic *isiXhosa* language expression used in different contexts of communication. In many instances, *lyhoo* is an exclamation used to express pleasure or displeasure, excitement or sadness.

²⁷ *Bathong* in the Setswana and Sesotho languages is the plural for people, therefore *bathong!* is used as an exclamation for shock, surprise, a state of pleasure or displeasure.

express a state of surprise, pleasure or displeasure for the communicator. Hence the above verbal expressions connote different meaning to different contexts of communication and at the same time are unique and shared among African people.

Benjamin Bates, Wendy Lawrence and Mark Cervenka (2008:279-280), add that “*Nommo*” is not only limited to the verbal aspects of communication, but also manifests itself through colour, dance, history, images, music, styling, texture and vernacular architecture. A common example of Afrocentric visual rhetoric is the depiction of a vernacular architecture such as a collective group of diminutive and colourful thatch-roof huts, which conveys various meanings of a particular ethnic group, tribal village or even a royal family. The second canon of the Afrocentric theory is the “context of communication” which contributes towards the production and creation of meaning of African rhetoric.

2.2.3.2 Context of communication

Afrocentric rhetorical context involves the social and practical realities in which communication occurs. Asante (1987:36) reasons that the communication context under which Afrocentric rhetoric is created, is influenced largely by the scope of African culture; African languages; socio-economic; and political constraints. These political constraints include: discrimination; poverty; unemployment; underdevelopment; racism; slavery; and tribalism; all, or some, of which reflect an African or black speaker’s lifetime experiences. Therefore, historical experiences, such as the traumatic experiences of apartheid; colonialism; and slavery; influence and shape the communication style of the African speaker. Asante (1987) also asserts that the orator of Afrocentric rhetoric needs to take into consideration the communication needs of primarily African audiences. He reasons that African audiences demand to hear certain expressions, to see certain things and to enjoy certain kinds of humour which, for the most part, may not be relevant to Asian or Eurocentric audiences (Asante 1987).

The above discussion emphasised that the context of communication is significant when creating Afrocentric rhetoric. The next section examines the third canon of Afrocentric theory, which is the “frame of mind”, and how that also contributes towards the creation of meaning in Afrocentric rhetoric.

2.2.3.3 *Frame of mind*

By “frame of mind” Asante (1987:36) suggests how cultural; economic; historical; political; social; and psychological factors; contribute towards the speaker’s view of the use of language and rhetoric. The following techniques are significant to this dimension: repetition; rhythm; and styling. Repetition, in the context of the Afrocentric perspective, suggests the speaker’s use of the rhetorical technique of repetition of words to highlight the significance of the issue under discussion. While rhythm is used by the speaker to regulate the flow of words by using pauses, sound and vocal expressions. Asante (1987:39) argues that the use of pauses and sound in verbal rhetoric suggests the speaker’s ability to establish a relationship or engage with audiences in oral speech. In addition, the speaker’s ability to use sound in verbal rhetoric also dictates to audiences the nature, and the significance, of the rhetorical event. The use of expressions, such as *Amandla!*²⁸ at political gatherings, dictates that the audience concedes with what has been said. Thus, the Afrocentric speaker uses familiar vocal expressions to enhance relationships with his or her audience. Furthermore, Asante (1987:39), suggests that “style”, in Afrocentric rhetoric, involves the speaker’s ability to use different tones and accents to arrive at a particular meaning. “Style” is also used to establish relationships with audiences. In his observation of African-American audiences, Henry Mitchell (1970:46) observed that audiences tend to be permissive with the speaker’s different communication behaviour. Thus, in-order-to establish a successful audience relationship with the speaker, Mitchell (1970) reasons that it is important for the Afrocentric speaker to make use of style. Asante (1998:40) observed that “styling” involves the speaker’s ability to use a variety of behaviours ranging from dance, singing, clothes and the use of varying pronunciation of certain words or placing the emphasis on words such as *Amandla!*

This section explored the first postcolonial worldview, the Afrocentric perspective, which emphasises that the cultural and social environment plays a significant role in shaping verbal and visual patterns of rhetoric among African people. The next section focuses on the second postcolonial worldview, namely the Eurocentric approach

²⁸ “*Amandla*” is a Nguni expression (*isiNdebele*, *isiSwati*, *isiZulu* and *isiXhosa* languages) for “power”.

2.3 EUROCENTRIC / WESTERN-CENTRIC THEORY

As indicated previously in this chapter, the Eurocentric perspective is synonymous with the Western-centric perspective. The Eurocentric perspective is a postcolonial “construct” proposed by an Egyptian political economist, Samir Amin, in his seminal work, *Eurocentrism* (1988). In this book, Amin (1988) critiques the Euro-American viewpoint that emphasises the significance of European civilisation; concerns; cultures and values; and which are at the centre of the universe to other cultures. What this means is that the Eurocentric perspective claims that Euro-American culture is superior to other non-European cultures such as African; Asian; and, Latin American cultures. As such, Amin (1988:74) defines Eurocentrism as a theory of world history in which Europe has positioned herself as an exclusive; unique; superior; and, global political project which legitimises her expansion (and colonisation) to other continents of the world. The Eurocentric perspective can be viewed as ideological and a practice of domination and exclusion based on the fundamental assumption that all relevance and value are concentrated within European culture. As a result, other cultures and people, are at the margins and are thus irrelevant in the global order of things (Karenga 2002:46-47). Amin (1988) further asserts that the Eurocentric phenomenon can be traced from the early Greek civilisation of the first millennium B.C.E. (Before the Common Era) during which the classical works of Greek literature; art; philosophy; and, political theory; were produced.²⁹

²⁹ Although Greece is one of the early empires of civilisation, Amin (1988:64) argues that it owes its civilisation to the Egyptian civilisation. In other words, Greece adapted many of its traditions from the Egyptian civilisation because Plato who was a Greek philosopher was influenced by Egyptian culture. Plato lived in Egypt and learned many of the Egyptian beliefs such as immortality of the soul and divine justice which were later adopted by the Greeks. Amin (1988) recounts that under the Roman Empire, the Romans borrowed from the early Egyptian and Greek civilisations adapting, for instance, Greek philosophy, arts and literature. Under the Roman Empire, which happened to stretch as far as the Arab world of Egypt, Palestine and Syria, the Romans borrowed from the Islamic and Judaic civilisations. The Romans borrowed philosophies such as monotheism, a belief which suggests that there is only one God, and the immortality of the soul. Hence these sets of beliefs became a universal set of beliefs which led to

By the early 1800s, capitalism had risen to take economic, political and social control of Western Europe. Colonial expansion and the slave trade had begun in Africa, Asia and Latin America. By then, it was clear that the world had developed both culturally and politically. These developments explain why Europe had become the centre stage of the world order, while other continents such as Africa, Asia and Latin America were marginalised or placed on the periphery (cf. Blaut 1992:22). The significance of the seminal work of Amin (1988) on the Eurocentric perspective, is that it accomplishes two important tasks. Firstly, it exposes the arrogance; imperialism; and, universalism; of Europe regarding non-European societies. These societies are reduced to the peripheries. Secondly, it deconstructs the discourse of capitalism; chauvinism; civilisation; racism; prejudice; and, xenophobia; inherent in European culture, which has been perpetuated against non-European societies for hundreds of years.

In addition to the foundational work of Eurocentrism by Amin (1988), there are several significant secondary works about the Eurocentric worldview. For example, the work of Linus Hoskins (1992), a Pan-African scholar. In his work, *Eurocentrism vs Afrocentrism: A Geopolitical Linkage Analysis*, Hoskins (1992) maintains that at the heart of the Eurocentric perspective lies racism and xenophobia. Both of these perspectives conditioned Europeans to believe that Europe is at the centre and is exclusive to Europeans. Africa and her people are positioned at the periphery, to the extent that they are the lowest class of human beings. This view therefore suggests that Africans can neither be integrated nor share equal social space with Europeans. Hoskins (1992) maintains that the Eurocentric perspective is replete with myths which perceive non-Europeans as backwards; primitive; inferior; and, devoid of knowledge or culture. Another significant work is from the Zimbabwean-born political scholar, Sabelo Ndlovu-

the birth of Christianity (Tierney & Painter 1983:22). At the fall of the Roman Empire, Europe succumbed to the era of feudal monarchies and later the European Renaissance. Given the above early historical developments, the year 1492 is a significant year in the history of the European Empire. The year marks the beginning of the European Renaissance, when Europe embarked on its expansion into the New World which led to the discovery of North and South America, and resulted in America becoming a colony of Western Europe. This development explains the rise of Europe as an imperial power. In its expansion, Spain attacked and destroyed the Aztec Empire in Mexico, and Mexico was later colonised by the Spanish (Parkes 1988:39-59).

Gatsheni (2013), entitled *Coloniality of Power in Postcolonial Africa: Myth of Decolonization*. Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2013) points out the two positions of the Eurocentric worldview. Firstly, the European colonisation of Africa was strategic in that it sought to deprive Africa of legitimacy and recognition in the global cultural order, dominated largely by Europe and North America. Secondly, the European colonial powers not only colonised Africa, but also colonised African imagination, thus displacing African knowledge and imposing progressive global values on the African people. The visual and verbal communication rhetorical patterns and views of the African were therefore significantly compromised to the advantage of the Eurocentric worldview.

Now that the epistemological nature of the Eurocentric perspective has been described, previous studies on the Eurocentric perspective are discussed. In the works entitled *Coloniality and Modernity/Rationality* (2007) and *Coloniality of Power and Eurocentrism in Latin America* (2000) by the Peruvian sociology scholar, Anibal Quijano, she posits that the epistemological constructs of modernity and knowledge in non-European societies are a manifestation of the Eurocentric perspective. According to Quijano (2000:221), between the 17th and 19th century, Western Europe systematically conceptualised the perspective of modernity and knowledge the world over. During this era, non-European societies such as the Indians of South America and North America, black people of Africa and Asians were regarded as an inferior race and thus objects of or tools for exploitation and discrimination. It is this perception that led Europeans to regard non-Europeans as irrational objects. This means that Europeans regard non-Europeans as a race of people that do not possess any form of rational knowledge. Since these races do not possess any form of rational knowledge, Europeans could “justifiably” and “legitimately” dominate and exploit those cultures at the margins (cf. Quijano 2007).

Thus, given the mythical assumptions about non-Europeans, who are seen as irrational; primitive; underdeveloped and uncivilised; Europeans saw it fitting to suggest that non-Europeans could move from the state of primitive; irrational; uncivilised and traditional; to a state of rational; civilised; non-traditional and modern societies; by means of the terms of modernity as defined by Europeans. This state of change is hegemonic in

nature and suggests that non-Europeans are expected to modernise according to a European framework of modernity. Dussel (2000) and Quijano (2007) argue that “modernity” means emancipation from immaturity by means of a reason that affords humanity the possibility of new development. This means that through knowledge, non-developed societies can move from under-developed societies to being fully functioning developed societies, hence modern societies.

In view of the above perspective of modernity, Quijano (2007:169) argues that the Eurocentric understanding of modernity suggests an imposition of modernity over the non-European, which means a repression and genocide of non-European cultural knowledge constructs. This imposition of modernity on non-Europeans, further suggests new patterns of communication expressions, new sets of beliefs and new forms of artistic expression as well as new images of how non-European societies should view themselves. The European construct of modernity, within non-European societies, also manifests itself through European cultural assumptions regarding material wealth; development; innovation; and technology, as well as industrial commerce. These European cultural forms therefore call for participation and aspiration, which lead to material benefits.

In another study entitled *Mutation of Eurocentric Domination and its Implication for African-American Resistance* by an African-American scholar, Jerome Schiele (2002:441), black people are viewed as an oppressed group of people in a Euro- American-dominated environment. Schiele (2002) contends that black people are “seduced” by Eurocentric culture, such as the affirmation of white intellectual supremacy. Europeans accuse their black counterparts of failing to conform to the American values of hard work and success through merits. This view suggests that black people subject themselves to being used to confirm and promote an agenda held largely by the racist white American middle class (Karenga 1986:48). The Eurocentric construct further manifests itself among non-Europeans through the increasing number of black people joining the ranks of the middle class, which results in the widening of socio- and economic inequality and disunity within black society.

Schiele (2002) also argues that the Eurocentric construct of consumer consumption among black people, creates an illusion of personal freedom and perception of personal wealth. He maintains that the media also perpetuates this myth, as it depicts black middle-class families living in mansions, driving luxury cars, as established professionals in their own fields within a progressive American society. It is this media representation that legitimises the established myth among the black middle class, that black people are emancipated from the institutional and structural racism of Eurocentric domination and bias. Despite all the social and economic progress among black people, Schiele (2002:454) maintains that the representation of the black middle-class in the media, validates and affirms “the black victim” mentality held by less fortunate black people marginalised by oppressive Eurocentric cultural constructs.

The Eurocentric approach is significant to this study in that it reveals how Western ideological and cultural constructs are represented in visual and verbal rhetorical texts. Like the Afrocentric perspective, the Eurocentric perspective assists in identifying the (assumed) representation of the underlying ideological, philosophical and cultural meanings of verbal and visual rhetoric.

Given the broad scope of the Eurocentric approach, it is important to point out the three canons or constructs of the Eurocentric perspective, namely coloniality; knowledge; and modernity. These three canons or constructs of the Eurocentric perspective, were addressed by the scholars, Samir Amin (1988); Walter Mignolo (2009); Anibal Quijano (2007); Sabelo Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2013); and, Tendai Sithole (2014). These authors demonstrate how the Eurocentric perspective manifests itself and represents itself in the communication and media contexts and texts.

2.3.1 Coloniality

“Coloniality” is the first canon of the Eurocentric perspective and can therefore be seen as a long-standing pattern of power that emerged as a result of colonialism, which defined the social, economic and cultural conditions of a society in the absence of the colonial administration (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013:38) What this means, is that coloniality is not colonialism; rather colonialism can be said to be sovereign country which is politically and economically dependent on the powers of another country. In the context

of a Eurocentric perspective, coloniality is a hidden, invisible and subtle form of domination which persists in postcolonial societies such as those in Africa, Asia and Latin America (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013:332). Coloniality is hidden and seeks to modify itself by hiding its true essence and leaving the status quo intact (Sithole 2014:57). In the context of communication, and media texts, “coloniality”, in a postcolonial society manifests itself through soft and subtle cultural practices which are Eurocentric oriented and uphold European or Western values and beliefs at the expense of African values and cultural traditions. A common Eurocentric form of coloniality within non-Western societies is the emphasis of the verbal and visual rhetoric that is concerned with upholding of values such as aesthetics, dress code, manner of talking, dining, entertainment, lifestyle and self-image. These European or Western traits are represented in media texts through visual and verbal rhetoric.

2.3.2 Knowledge

Knowledge is the second canon of the Eurocentric perspective, which manifests itself in postcolonial societies in the form of European hegemonic constructs of the rational “subject” and the irrational “object” (Quijano 2007:174). The rational subject largely constitutes European society, while the irrational object, constitutes primarily non-European societies. According to Quijano (2007), European culture is considered rational and dominant, while non-European cultures are considered irrational and inferior.³⁰ Knowledge from the Eurocentric perspective feeds into the coloniality of knowledge and legitimises and privileges Western knowledge, placing it at the centre, at the expense of silencing and relegating non-European epistemologies to the margins (Mignolo 2000:59). What this means is that colonial knowledge is regarded as the universal knowledge and should therefore be privileged. Colonial knowledge in the context of communication manifests itself in hidden and subtle rhetorical forms. For

³⁰ Quijano (2007:176) uses the following metaphor to illustrate the dynamic of knowledge power between Europeans and non-Europeans. The “body organ” of the brain, represents the significance of the European knowledge. The other body parts such as hands, legs, and muscles represent non-Europeans, the marginalised and peripheral societies. In other words, non-European societies cannot exist in areas of development, modernity, innovation and technology and wealth creation without being subordinately related to the ruling part of the brain, Europe.

example, in media texts, the visual and verbal rhetoric represents European specifically as white men in white-collar professions. These include businessmen, doctors, educators, engineers and scientists. Marginalised non-Europeans such as black men are represented in media texts in a negative frame, such as being criminals, disease-ridden, entertainers, masculine, economically disadvantaged and poor, exhibiting savage behaviour, being sporting athletes, and womanisers, as well as blue-collar work such as cleaners, delivery men, construction workers, steel workers and servants. This means that Eurocentric assumptions of colonial knowledge do not recognise non-Europeans as responsible and significant members of society and custodians of knowledge.

2.3.3 Modernity

As indicated earlier, modernity is considered to be “emancipation” from primitiveness and embracing new development (Mignolo 2007:464). This view suggests that the Eurocentric view of modernity proposes that, historically, modernity meant freedom of the bourgeoisie. The origins of modernity can be traced from 1492, with European expansion to the Americas (North and Latin America), first, with the Spanish conquering the Mexicans, followed by the colonisation of North America by the British and the French. Later, the European Industrial Revolution led to the advancement of technology and capitalism of the 21st century. These historical developments, led the likes of Jürgen Habermas (1987) to view modernity as a European phenomenon. Thus, in postcolonial Africa, modernity, like coloniality, is seen as the imposition of the hegemonic representation of European universalism and capitalism, which both Mignolo (2007), and Habermas (1987) maintain, perpetuates marginalisation in postcolonial societies.

In another manifestation of the Eurocentric forms of modernity in postcolonial societies such as in Africa, Amin (1988) posits that Eurocentric universal values such as diversity of opinions, respect for human rights, democracy, equality between men and women and tolerance of diversity come to the fore. These are Western values which are imposed on non-Western societies. In the analysis of the Eurocentric perspective, an American-Japanese communication scholar, Yoshitaka Miike (2010), pinpoints two

major problems regarding the Eurocentric perspective. Firstly, it privileges Eurocentricism as a universal perspective without recognising non-Europeans from Africa, Asia and Latin America. As indicated in the preceding sections of this chapter, non-European counterparts are marginalised and reduced to the periphery of the global stage. Secondly, the perspective favours its own worldview, at the same time disregarding and downplaying non-European cultural and historical values. Like Miike (2010), Asante (1987) concurs that the major problem with the Eurocentric perspective is its claim to universal hegemony in the global stage, while non-European societies are marginalised and occupy the periphery of the global stage.

2.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter analysed the two epistemic natures of postcolonial worldviews, namely the Afrocentric and the Eurocentric theoretical perspectives. The chapter emphasised that the significance of communication in the Afrocentric perspective is to represent Afrocentric cultural, ideological and philosophical rhetoric in media texts.

The chapter also highlighted the Eurocentric perspective of the postcolonial worldview. To reiterate, the Eurocentric perspective of the postcolonial world represents Western hegemony, which continues to occupy the global centre stage while marginalising non-European societies. Of significance for the current study, the chapter indicated that communication expresses both the Afrocentric and the Eurocentric perspectives through verbal, non-verbal and visual rhetoric. The Afrocentric perspective, which is concerned with the representation of African people, is of the view that the verbal, non-verbal and visual aspects of communication use different rhetoric to create both latent and manifest meanings. By contrast, the Eurocentric perspective is concerned with the representation of Western European and North American values, which are largely seen as superior and progressive in the global structure. The rhetoric of the Eurocentric perspective undermines and marginalises non-European societies such as those in

Africa, Latin America and Asia. The verbal, non-verbal and visual rhetoric of these regions is largely seen as savage, primitive, dysfunctional and backward.

The next chapter focuses on political advertising and the nature of rhetoric, most specifically visual, verbal and non-verbal rhetoric in the broader context of political advertising.

CHAPTER THREE: LITERATURE REVIEW (PART II): POLITICAL ADVERTISING AND RHETORIC

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous literature review, *Chapter Two*, focused almost entirely on the theoretical framework of Afrocentrism and Eurocentrism within the context of communication and media studies. In contrast, this literature review focuses on the nature of rhetoric (verbal, non-verbal and visual) and is divided into four main sections. Firstly, it outlines the overall nature of the concept “rhetoric”, that is, the historical overview of classical rhetoric and its limitations. Secondly, it provides an overall discussion on the nature of verbal rhetoric. Thirdly, it discusses the significance of non-verbal forms of rhetoric, such as body movement; space; tone of voice; and, dress code. Lastly, the chapter provides a discussion of how non-verbal, verbal and visual rhetoric are interdependent and overlap in media texts, such as political television advertisements.

Central to this chapter is the argument that rhetoric is ideological in nature and through the social semiotic theoretical framework,³¹ it contributes significantly towards the creation of social meaning. In addition, rhetoric is a significant part of political communication and is key to the analysis of political television commercials which will be deconstructed with the use of social semiotics.³² It must be noted that the research consulted for this literature review are specific to audience research; effect studies; impact studies; and audience reception studies. This study has appropriated them in-order-to better understand these forms of rhetoric and furthermore, has adapted them to suit the qualitative textual/content analysis under study here.

3.2 HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF RHETORIC

The formal study of rhetoric dates to 465 B.C.E. with Corax of Syracuse, which was a Greek colony on the island of Sicily. In Syracuse courts had to deal with large numbers of conflicting property claims (Kennedy 1964). According to George Kennedy (1964:58-

³¹ The next chapter, *Chapter Four* of this study, presents a comprehensive discussion of the nature of social semiotics as a theoretical approach.

³² *Chapter Four* of this study, focusses on the nature of social semiotics as a research design framework.

65), the Greek legal system required citizens to represent themselves in court, as they were not allowed to hire lawyers to argue in court on their behalf. Thus, property claimants, for instance, had the burden of presenting themselves and making persuasive cases before courts of law. Given this situation, Corax saw the need to introduce the art of speaking into the courts of law in ancient Greece. The introduction of art of speaking into the courts of Greece, resulted into a treatise called *The Art of Rhetoric*. In this treatise, Corax argued that speech consists of three major parts, namely introduction, argument and conclusion (Kennedy 1964). Later, students of Corax built on his work: Tisias introduced rhetorical teachings to mainland Greece, in Athens. In his teachings, Tisias emphasised eloquence as an art that can be taught. These developments gave rise to a class of teachers of rhetoric called sophists. The Greek word *sophos* which means “knowledge or wisdom”, and as such a sophist can be dubbed a teacher of wisdom (Kennedy 1964:63). A prominent sophist worth considering in this study is Isocrates, who established a school of rhetoric in Athens in 392 B.C.E. He believed that politics and rhetoric could not be separated, as both disciplines are significant in the life of the state. Furthermore, Isocrates valued figurative language which was seen as having the ability to appeal to listeners by evoking the emotions of fear, happiness and pity. Isocrates reasoned that the use of figures of speech such as metaphors provides audiences with alternative possibilities of seeing and doing things (Kennedy 1964:65). Plato, a Greek philosopher, had a different view from the sophists. He viewed rhetoric as a philosophy, and a technique used in speech rather than an art, and valued the organisation, the style and the delivery of the speech. Plato’s views of rhetoric were further credited by his student, Aristotle (384-322 B.C.E.). In his scholarly work of rhetoric, Aristotle focused on three canons of rhetoric, which are the organisation of ideas and arguments, style which suggests the careful selection of words, and delivery of speech (Foss, Foss & Trapp 1985:4).

After the fall of the Greek Empire, the Roman Empire made a significant contribution to the study of rhetoric. During the Roman Empire, the most notable scholar of rhetoric

was Cicero (106-43 B.C.E.). Cicero's seminal essays, the *De Oratore*,³³ (55 B.C.E.) translated by Thomas King (1967) in his work, *The Perfect Orator in Brutus*, outline the following criteria which the speaker is expected to choose: the content of the speech and arguments, the structure of the speech, the ability to deliver the speech in style, using humour, figurative language, repetition, and rhythm. Cicero expects the speaker to have the ability to recall information during speech delivery, as well as to influence audiences to respond or take action (King 1967:124-128).

The end of the Roman Empire and the Middle Ages were followed by the Renaissance Era. During the Renaissance, a French philosopher Peter Ramus (1956) in his seminal essay, the *Dialectique*,³⁴ maintained that rhetoric should concern itself with Aristotle's canon of style and delivery. He added that logic should be concerned with the invention, originality and organisation of ideas and arguments of the speaker (Howell 1956).

From this historical overview, it is evident that the early classical view of rhetoric is concerned largely with the speaker's ability to persuade audiences; to use spoken language effectively; and, to recall information during the delivery of speeches. In the translated work of Cicero, Thomas King (1967:125) noted that during the delivery of speech, rhetoric largely placed emphasis on the importance of the use of visual language, such as the use of metaphors. As there was no use of visual aids such as pictures and PowerPoint technology in ancient times, the speaker was expected to recall significant amounts of information to the deliver speech, as well as to use illustrations as much as possible to help the audience to visualise what the speaker was saying.

During the 19th and 20th century, interest in rhetoric, shifted from the verbal to the visual with the advancement of mass media technology such as print media, radio, television, photography and electronic media. The development of studies such as communication, language, linguistics, organisational studies, philosophy, psychology,

³³ A French word for "*The Orator*".

³⁴ The French word "*Dialectique*" (translated by Wilbur Howell 1956) refers to the method of discussion, reasoning, questioning and interpretation that has been used since ancient times.

marketing, speech proficiency and sociology have also contributed to the advancement and analysis of visual rhetoric.

However, the classical perspective of rhetoric have the following limitations.

3.3 LIMITATIONS OF CLASSICAL RHETORIC

The previous sections of this chapter repeatedly pointed out that the classical view of rhetoric is only concerned with the persuasive aspect of rhetoric. Roland Barthes (1977:15), a French literary theorist, philosopher, linguist and semiotic scholar, argues that the classical view of rhetoric does not recognise the arbitrary role of rhetoric involved in the distribution and the expression of complex communication phenomena. What this means is that rhetoric can sometimes be arbitrary and come naturally to the communication encounter and be influenced by the speaker's intentions. Barthes (1977) argument is against the view that classical rhetoric is only concerned with the choice, the intention and the influence of the speaker, who seeks to evoke responses from audiences. This for Barthes (1977), undermines the significance of rhetoric in the creation of social meaning in the environment. Like Barthes (1977), an American communication scholar, Robert Cathcart (1981:12-13) in his book, *Post-communication: Rhetorical Analysis and Evaluation*, disagrees with the classical view of rhetoric. He maintains that both visual and verbal rhetoric can be unintentional in the communication encounter. He further criticises the view that rhetoric is only concerned with the persuasion of audiences. Key to Cathcart's (1981) main arguments is that rhetoric can sometimes be symbolic, rather than being persuasive. The notion that rhetoric is significant to this study, in that it is concerned with the creation of meaning within texts.

In the light of the above overview of the classical perspective of rhetoric, the next section focuses on the nature of rhetoric.

3.4 DEFINITION OF RHETORIC

Given the above varying classical historical views of rhetoric, it is necessary to define and describe the nature of the concept. Defining the concept rhetoric poses challenges as it does not have a universal definition since different scholars in different fields of

study hold diverse views of the concept, while different historical eras (as the previous discussion has demonstrated) hold different views of the concept as well.

In the secondary work of Sonja Foss (2004), *Rhetorical Criticism: Exploration and Practices*, she defines rhetoric as the human set of symbols, expressed in visual and verbal modes of communication, with a specific purpose to communicate, inform, persuade, influence and evoke actions among communication participants. Foss (2004) definition of rhetoric suggests the following three key significant views of the concept: firstly, it offers a general perspective of the concept and suggests that rhetoric involves virtually all forms of visual communication such as written texts and visual images which can be found in different media platforms, such as books, magazines, newspapers, posters, film, television, photographs and the internet. The definition maintains that the identified modes of communication are intentionally and consciously used to communicate, inform, persuade and evoke actions among audiences. Secondly, the definition is concerned with verbal rhetoric, that is, the role of the speaker whose function is to express an idea to members of the public with the specific intention of persuading and influencing audiences to hold a specific view. Thirdly, the definition emphasises the significance of action from audiences, that is, whether visual or verbal rhetoric is specifically intended to evoke actions or response among communication audiences. Thus, it is reasonable to conclude that Foss's (2004:5) view of rhetoric in many respects, holds underlying assumptions of the classical perspectives of rhetoric, in that she views rhetoric as a formal, deliberate and conscious effort which seeks to persuade, influence and evoke action among audiences.

Another definition of rhetoric worth noting is that of Timothy Borchers (2006:24) who defines it as the use of language and other sets of symbolic systems to make sense of the experience, construct collective identities, produce meaning and evoke action among audiences. Borchers (2006) view of rhetoric highlights two significant elements. Language and its underlying creative and symbolic use of grammar and metaphor can be seen as rhetoric, which creates meaning. One can also reason that the use of language in a creative manner, suggests that rhetoric is used strategically and

deliberately with a conscious decision by the communicator. Like Foss (2004), Borchers (2006) view of rhetoric emphasises the significance of actions. That is, both verbal and visual rhetoric are intentionally expressed to persuade and evoke reaction among audiences. Although both Foss (2004) and Borchers (2006) focus on responses of audiences to rhetoric, this study provides a point of departure as it is not an audience study or an effect study. Their definitions are relevant, however, to the contextualisation of the term “rhetoric” within communication and media studies.

The above views are evident in a master’s study on the subject of rhetoric, entitled *The Highly-Charged Rhetoric in Trade Politics: Representations of China during the 2010 U.S. Midterm Elections* (2011) by Helen Cho. The study is a qualitative content analysis which examines the use of different styles of verbal and visual rhetoric used by political candidates of the Democratic Party and the Republican Party during the 2010 U.S. midterm election political advertisements pertaining to trade relations between China and the U.S. Cho (2011) found similar visual and verbal rhetoric in both the Democratic and Republicans political television commercials which frame China as a threat to U.S. national security and economic wellbeing. Both political parties used a similar visual and verbal rhetoric of fear appeal in framing China. The Republican political television commercial, used a visual rhetoric of the colour yellow in its images representing China. Yellow symbolically represents people of Asian descent, particularly from China, Japan, Korea, Taiwan, and from South East Asia such as Cambodians, Singaporeans and the Vietnamese. In contrast, the Democratic Party candidate used verbal rhetoric containing metaphors suggesting oriental people from the Far East largely China, Japan, Korea and Taiwan. The use of metaphors suggesting the oriental, marginalises and “others” people from the Far East who supposedly pose a threat to U.S. security and neither possess nor share the American values of freedom and democracy.

The above sections of this chapter described the nature of the concept rhetoric. The next section focuses on the different forms of visual, non-verbal and verbal rhetoric that are relevant to the study of political television advertisements.

3.5 THE NATURE OF VERBAL RHETORIC

According to Lynda Lee Kaid and Alice Johnston (2001), the verbal rhetorical content of communication is described as the “semantic characteristics of the political party” used in political commercial messages. The semantic rhetorical characteristics of the verbal content suggest that the use of a particular set of metaphors, style and symbols is represented in rhetorical messages.

The next sub-sections highlight the verbal rhetorical techniques used in political texts such as political television commercials.

3.5.1 Speech

Speech can be seen as a verbal rhetorical mode of human communication which involves the voice. With speech, the following rhetorical factors are used to produce different sounds such as volume, pitch, stress and speed. In addition to sounds, speech uses intonation and stress as forms of verbal rhetoric. The speaker uses speech to articulate the forms of verbal rhetoric which are irony, sarcasm, questions, expression of sympathy, emotions, fear, humour, sadness and rage. Rhetorical forms of speech articulate the cohesion of grammar, the sequencing of words, sentences and the choice of words (Van Dijk 1988:171). Thus, speech as a form of verbal rhetoric is significant to this study in that, it suggest representation of a particular form of ideology and meaning within political television advertisements. In speech, words and vocabulary are significant to verbal rhetoric.

3.5.2 Words and vocabulary

The second component of verbal rhetoric is words, which can be regarded as labels that structure perceptions by classifying objects, people and situations. Words are a structured sequence of letters bounded by spaces. Classification depends upon the ideological assumption of the speaker and not on the quality of the object, situation or behaviour being classified (Jackson & Stockwell 2011:28). Vocabulary is another component, which can be described as the use of a key concept that has specific meaning and value within a certain discourse. According to Williams (1993:345), in a specific discourse, the meaning of a concept is related to and dependent on the social environment such as the specific society, country or culture. Thus, vocabulary is key to the study of political advertising

in that, politicians use concepts that have an underlying meaning to a specific society or country and identify with a specific historical period of the country or society.

In light of the above, the specific use of words is significant, in that the advertiser carefully selects words and vocabulary ideologically to communicate information to the defined audiences. Thus careful selection of words and vocabulary in the political television commercial therefore can be seen as ideological and represents both the latent and manifest meaning of verbal rhetoric.

3.5.3 Metaphor

Closely related to the rhetorical component of words and vocabulary, is metaphor in the visual, non-verbal and verbal rhetoric. According to Paul Chilton (2004:22), metaphor is a cognitive operation in which different “domains of knowledge and experiences are brought together”. He also suggests that there are two types of domains, namely the source and target domains (Chilton 2004). The former, the source domain, is the metaphor that is based on human experience of the physical and social worlds. Human experience is based on individual daily interactions with the external environment. The latter domain, that is the target domain, is a metaphor, that is abstract, unstructured and subjective in nature, and often difficult to relate to.

The above views of metaphor, suggest that spoken metaphors are “monomodal”, that is, metaphors whose targets and sources are exclusively or predominantly used as one mode (Forceville 2006:383). Following the views of Forceville (2006), verbal metaphor is rhetorically “monomodal”, according to George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, (2003) who are both scholars in “metaphorology” and “multimodality”, as well as being adherents to the conceptual metaphor theory. In their work, *Metaphors we Live By*, the authors posit that “metaphorology” of the metaphor does not suggest that metaphors are only expressed verbally in speech, but also expressed in visual modes of rhetoric such as gestures, not figures of speech, but also as modes of thought. That is, metaphor occurs in modes other than language alone. Multimodal metaphor therefore involves the target and source that are represented exclusively or predominantly in different modes.

The next section deals with visual rhetoric.

3.6 THE NATURE OF VISUAL RHETORIC

Visual rhetoric can be described as the study of visual imagery in the broader discipline of rhetoric (cf. Ehninger 1972/1973; Foss 2005; Messaris 1997). Visual rhetoric is therefore defined as a form of communication that uses images to create meaning and to construct an argument (Foss 2005:141). Visual rhetoric is a “new” area of study, which dates to the 1970s, with a call to include visual images in the study of the rhetoric. One early scholar in the field of visual rhetoric is Douglas Ehninger (1972/1973:3), in *Contemporary Rhetoric: A Reader's Coursebook*, where he formulated a definition of rhetoric that does not include verbal rhetoric, but is broad enough to include visual images such as art; architecture; dance; and dress code in-order-to influence audience thinking and behavior. Ehninger (1972/1973) has argued that the significance of studying and identifying visual rhetoric, is caused by the increasing impact of advertising and film cultures on audiences. As well as the creation of meaning in the visual images which in turn, influences of audience viewers. In the secondary work of Sonja Foss (2005), *The Theory of Visual Rhetoric*, she argues that a visual image is visual rhetoric, in that visual rhetoric possesses the following three characteristics: firstly, the image is symbolic; secondly, the image involves a human intervention; and thirdly, the image is presented to an audience, for communicating with it. The above arguments of Foss (2005) resonate with the communication scholar Paul Messaris (1997) who in his secondary work, *Visual Persuasion: The Role of Images in Advertising*, points out that visual images possess meaning in one of three ways, namely, the iconic; indexical; and, symbolic. A visual image that is “iconic” suggests a presentation of real-world experiences such as politicians interviewed on television directly facing the camera to create reality. The “indexical” sign in a visual image involves a cause and effect relationship. For example, a visual image depicting a snowfall suggests winter season in the northern hemisphere. Thus, because of the cause and effect relationship that occurs in the visual image, meaning is created. The symbolic signs in the visual image are arbitrary signs, that is, there is no obvious relationship to what they mean—hence meaning must be learned. Examples are traffic signs, stop signs or national flags. One has to learn that a flag with multiple colour bar lines and a v shape is a South African flag (Messaris 1997:xiii-xxi).

Given the above, for a visual image to be visual rhetoric, it has to firstly be an image that is symbolic, that is, having visual features that are arbitrary without a significant and obvious relationship to what they mean. Secondly, the visual image must possess human intervention, that is, a conscious decision to communicate, as well as conscious choices about the strategies to employ. In the case of television production of visual images, this is a conscious decision on how to use camera angles, camera shots, camera movements and tertiary techniques of video production such as the cut, dissolve, lighting, music, settings, and shadows. Thus, the above identified strategies of verbal rhetoric can be seen as analytical tools for deconstructing visual rhetoric. These visual elements are significant in numerous ways as they generate arguments and meaning in a visual image (Foss 2005:144).

The next section examines different verbal and visual rhetorical appeal techniques used in the creation of rhetoric.

3.7 NON-VERBAL, VERBAL AND VISUAL RHETORICAL APPEAL TECHNIQUES

The next sub-sections focus on the different types of rhetorical appeals such as the informational appeal, emotional appeal, fantasy or thematic appeal, nostalgic appeal, fear appeal, ethical or morality appeal, policy appeal, factious appeal and consistency appeal used in political television commercials. The above-mentioned rhetorical appeals are significant to this study in that it will be argued that they are used intentionally and ideologically, to represent both the underlying latent and the manifest meanings of the political television commercials under investigation. This section follows on the secondary works of different scholars such as Chris Fill, Graham Hughes and Scott de Francesco (2012), and focuses on the rhetoric of the information appeal. Stuart Agres, Julie Edell and Tony Dubitsky (1990) focus on the rhetoric of the emotion appeal. Sean Brierley (2002) focuses on both the rhetoric of the fantasy and nostalgic appeals. Brian Stiff and Paul Mongeau (2003) focus on the rhetoric of fear and ethical or moral appeal. Kevin Coe and Michael Reitzes (2010) focus on the rhetoric of the policy appeal, which is concerned with the political, economic and social issues of a country.

3.7.1 “Information” appeal

The informational appeal can be described as rational and logical rhetoric. Audiences are presented with all factual information, demonstrations, and political messages in a political television commercial (Fill, Hughes & de Francesco 2012:34). Factual information, as a rhetorical appeal, can be represented in both verbal and visual rhetoric, which involves the use of detailed, factual figures and rational information in texts, such as political advertisements (Fill *et al.* 2012:35). It therefore includes the use of visual images, such as graphical information figures, for instance quantitative diagrams and maps. The factual information rhetorical appeal, like the logical appeal, can be used in political television commercials to enhance the credibility of policy issues and as well as the image of the political party (or candidate).

3.7.2 “Emotional” appeal

According to Agres, Edell and Dubitsky (1990:8), emotional appeal can be described as a verbal and visual rhetorical technique used in an election commercial to evoke different feelings among political election audiences. These feelings include that of fear, escape, fantasy, guilt, insecurity and nostalgia. Therefore, political television advertisements use different rhetorical tactics to appeal to the emotions of audiences.

A study by Johnston and Kaid (2002:288) found that emotional appeal uses verbal rhetoric and images to evoke the following feelings among electorates in the U.S. presidential election campaigns. Common emotional appeals on political television commercials include anger, happiness, goodwill, pride, patriotism and sadness. The emotional appeals are largely used to express emotions of the political candidate. In a similar South African study by Lynnette Fourie and Johannes Froneman (2003:193), the authors found that emotional appeal was used with the policy appeals to enhance a specific national issue in the 1999 party political election advertising campaigns. In another, cross-national study, conducted by Holtz-Bacha, Kaid and Johnston (1994:75), it was found that patterns of the use of emotional appeals in political television commercials in the U.S., France and Germany vary significantly.

They found that the U.S. and German political television commercials largely use emotional appeals compared to France, which uses fewer emotional appeals. Thus, these studies demonstrate the significance of the use of emotional appeal in political television commercials.

In addition to emotional appeals there are “fantasy” or “thematic” appeals.

3.7.3 “Fantasy” or “thematic” appeal

The “fantasy” or “thematic” appeal involves the rhetorical appeal of hope and the future. According to Brierley (2002:166), the verbal rhetorical use of “fantasy” appeal in political television advertising evokes feelings of change, hope, a promising future and vision among political television advertising audiences. The use of verbal rhetorical “fantasy” appeal in political advertising, involves the use of verbal rhetoric which involves rhetorical tactics such as myths, metaphor and stereotypes. Common fantasy appeals include verbal rhetoric on, for instance, mature democracy, good governance and a winning nation.

Similar to fantasy appeal is the thematic appeal. According to Coe and Reitzer (2010), the fantasy appeal involves themes in political campaigns which are not about policy, but rather about broader ideals that the elections campaign seeks to represent such as freedom and equality. In the seminal work, *The Political Use of Symbols*, Charles Elder and Roger Cobb (1983:108) argue that “thematic” appeals are rich with symbolism and not as technical as policy appeals. Elder and Cobb (1983:108) posit that common “thematic” appeals used by different political parties include beliefs, change, hope, innovation, nation building, new nation, rainbow nation, unity, pioneer, trust and vision. These thematic appeals, have been used successfully by the U.S. Democratic Party in its presidential election campaigns. In a study by Coe and Reitzes (2010:400), it was found that, in the U.S. Democratic Party presidential election campaign advertisements, President Obama used thematic appeals such as change, establishment, hope, partnership and unity. Although this specific study does not focus on the presidential

electoral system, but rather on a political party electoral system, thematic appeals remain significant to this study.

3.7.4 “Nostalgic” appeal

The “nostalgic” appeal is used in the form of verbal and visual rhetoric in political television advertising. Brierley (2002:167) postulates that the nostalgic appeal as a verbal and visual rhetorical technique in political television commercials, involves the use of historical rhetoric of national achievements, political party achievements and overall government achievements. The use of nostalgic appeal can serve as a symbol to challenge opposing political parties as well as to evoke feelings of a promising future for the country.

The advantage of the use of nostalgic rhetorical appeal in political television commercials is that it makes the advertisement real and natural. In contrast to the nostalgic appeal, is the use of “fear” as a rhetorical appeal.

3.7.5 “Fear” appeal

The “fear” appeal is another important rhetorical strategy that uses both verbal and visual rhetoric in political television commercials. The rhetorical appeal of fear in political advertising can be described as a negative emotion accompanied by a perceived potential threat that is regarded to be significant to the personal life of the individual audience (Stiff & Mongeau 2003:185). According to Brian Stiff and Paul Mongeau (2003) “fear” suggests a negative emotion; it involves threats influenced by, *inter alia*, environmental characteristics that have a potential of negative consequences for the individual. The rhetorical use of fear appeal in political advertising, involves the manipulation of the depicted threat through the use of intense verbal text accompanied by vivid graphical images. The use of rhetorical fear requires the political advertisers to indicate how audience members can avoid the potential threat. According to Kaid and Johnston (1991:56), fear appeal is used by political parties as a rhetorical technique designed to make voters fear that negative consequences could occur if a rival political party is elected. In the studies by Soobum Lee, Lynda Lee Kaid and Jinyoung Tak (1998); as well as studies by Lynda Lee Kaid and Alice Johnston (1991), it was found

that the U.S. political candidates used the “fear appeal” particularly in “negative”³⁵ political advertisements. Kaid and Johnston (2001) added that the “fear appeal” is more prevalent in the “issue”³⁶ political advertisements, as opposed to “image” advertisements. In addition to the afore-mentioned verbal rhetorical appeals, Coe and Reitzes (2010:391-413) added that common verbal rhetorical appeals in issue political commercials are ethical or morality, and policy appeals.

3.7.6 “Ethical” or “morality” appeal

Ethical appeal, unlike emotional appeal, can be described as an appeal used to enhance the credibility and trustworthiness of a political party by presenting all that the party has done in the past (Khang & Tak 2006:45). The ethical appeal is more relevant to image political television commercials than to issue political commercials. A cross-national study between the U.S. and South Korea by Lee, Kaid and Tak (1998:82) found that South Korean politicians in the election campaign commercials used more ethical appeals such as patriotism, safety and peace compared to their U.S. counterparts. Similar to the “ethical” appeal is the “morality” appeal which involves the use of moral values in political rhetoric. The book, *The God Strategy: How Religion Became a Political Weapon in America*, authored by David Domke and Kevin Coe (2008:140) argues that political parties, similar to those of religious organisations, emphasise certain aspects of campaigns that play on traditional notions of morality. “Moral” appeals address, *inter alia*, issues of equality, freedom, justice, patriotism and human rights, non-sexism, and non-racialism. These types of verbal rhetoric are relevant and significant to this study in that they demonstrate the underlying meaning of verbal and visual rhetoric used in media texts such as the political television commercial. Another rhetorical appeal worth considering is the policy rhetorical appeal.

³⁵ “Negative” or “attack” political advertisements focus on the negative, weak attributes of the political opponent, or there is reference to the fears of the citizens, instead of focussing on the positive attributes of the candidate him- or her-self (McNair 2011:96).

³⁶ “Issue” political advertisements focus on specific issues, such as healthcare or the economy (McNair 2011:98).

3.7.7 “Policy” appeal

“Policy” appeal, sometimes called “issue” appeal, can be described as political commercials that focus, for instance, on the political, economic and security issues of the country rather than the image of the political party (Newman 1999:375-376). Policy appeal thus demonstrates that a particular political party is equally concerned with the challenges such as unemployment, health, security, education, infrastructure and energy that the country or the nation is faced with. For instance, in the verbal rhetoric (content analysis), of the U.S. presidential campaign of Barack Obama by Kevin Coe and Michael Reitzes (2010:394). They found that President Obama’s speeches focused more on policy issues such as the economy; education; energy; environment; health care; national security; and, U.S. foreign policy (cf. McNair 2011).

Although this thesis does not focus on presidential candidates but rather on the political party election commercial campaigns, political parties also make use of “policy appeal” in the electioneering campaigns. They do this by promising to address the challenges of unemployment; education; health; housing; and infrastructure development; of their respective constituents. Like Coe and Reitzes (2010), William Benoit and Leslie Rill (2013:36), in their analysis of policy appeal for the 2008 U.S. presidential elections, posit that policy appeal involves governmental issues or problems that affect voters negatively such as the economy, education, health, housing and economic infrastructure such as information and communication infrastructure, rail, roads and safety.

It is therefore important to note that the above verbal and visual rhetorical appeals used in political television advertisements are interdependent. They are not isolated aspects of verbal and visual rhetorical communication. In addition, Lynnette Fourie and Johannes Froneman (2003), and Leonard Shyles (1984), reason that the different types of appeals cannot be limited to only issue-related political television commercials, but they also position the image of the political party during election campaigns.

Hence it should be pointed out that the foregoing non-verbal, verbal and visual rhetorical techniques are significant in that they are equally represented in the non-

verbal, verbal and visual rhetoric of the mediated text such as political television commercials. Also, rhetoric, through the use of social semiotics, can be deconstructed to reveal any latent and manifest meanings of the political television advertisements.

The next section of the study identifies different types of non-verbal rhetoric, which are significant in the creation of meaning within media texts (such as, a political television advertisement).

3.8 NON-VERBAL RHETORIC

According to Edward Hall (1969:25), non-verbal communication involves, *inter alia*, human body movement (which is regarded as a “hidden dimension” of culture). What Hall (1969) suggests by “hidden dimension” is that, non-verbal messages are determined and influenced by the social context in which communication occurs. Judith Martin and Thomas Nakayama (2013:274) add that non-verbal communications are symbolic in nature, in that they communicate underlying ideological meanings. The foregoing perspective of non-verbal communication is the same as Alice Schefflen’s (1972:2) observation of non-verbal communication. Schefflen (1972) loosely describes non-verbal communication as the “vast, ill-defined and unbounded set of activities that can include almost anything”. In addition to Schefflen’s (1972) observation, Kim (1992) added that not all non-verbal communication signs are carried out through body movements, but rather the following rhetorical techniques such as space, tone of voice and dress codes as well as other cultural norms, objects, social landmarks, national symbols and values, which are also regarded as non-verbal communication rhetorical techniques. In a quantitative study by Kaid and Johnston (2001), and Mark Knapp, Judith Hall and Terrence Horgan (2013:38), it was found that over one thousand two hundred and four U.S. presidential election commercials, common non-verbal communication rhetorical codes involved body movement, eye contact, facial expressions, gestures, postures and dress code. Daniel Schwarz (2012:7), in his master’s thesis entitled *Relating to ‘Ohio’ in Political Advertisements*, added that dimensions such as kinesics, physical appearance, word stressing, spacing, touch and environmental factors influences the narrative of political messages and generating of meaning in television election commercials.

The next section focusses on the components of non-verbal rhetoric such as body movement, space, tone and dress code.

3.8.1 Body movement

According to Ray Birdwhistell (1970:147), non-verbal communication rhetoric involves kinesics which she defines as a of body of movements relating to arms, eyes, face, feet, hands and legs. Birdwhistell's (1970) views on body movement therefore suggests gestures; postures; movement; appearance; and, facial expressions.

3.8.2 Space (“proximity”)

Space can also be regarded as another aspect of non-verbal communication. According to Hall (1969), the use of space as a rhetorical aspect of non-verbal communication can be described as “proximity”. Proximity is an important non-verbal communication rhetorical element in that it conveys meaning to political advertising audiences. How communication participants use space in their interaction symbolises a cultural practice or generates a precise meaning.

3.8.3 Tone

Although tone is generally regarded as verbal rhetoric, it can also be regarded a non-verbal rhetoric. According to Gary C. Woodward and Robert E. Denton (1992:322), the quality of voice; tone; and volume, can be viewed as signs of non-verbal communication which accompany verbal communication messages. Rhetorical non-verbal messages may complement, or contradict, rhetorical verbal messages. Thus, the use of tone or voice can be described as a “paralanguage”. “Paralanguage” is described as the sound and meaning associated with how words are spoken, in which vocal rate, pitch, volume and pauses, all of which affect the meaning communicated in verbal messages (Woodward & Denton 1992:322).

3.8.4 Dress code

Dress code is an art of communication that has a specific function and represents underlying ideological meaning in political television commercials. In studies done by

Lee *et al.* (1997:418), and Lynda Lee Kaid and Anne Johnston (2001:200), it was found that political television commercials make use of formal dress codes (for instance, business suits) by the candidate (or narrator) in political commercials. According to a study by David Rosenburg; Vu Trong Khanh; Truong Tran; Le Thuy Trang; and Lynda Lee Kaid (1991:351); as well as a study by Anne Johnston and Anne Barton White (1994:324); the use of formal dress code in political party elections projects the image of the political party. Therefore, the use of such formal dress codes imparts the importance of the political candidates (cf. McNair 2011; Woodward & Denton 1992:323).

3.9 CONCLUSION

This chapter provided a detailed discussion of the nature of rhetoric from the classical historical perspective, including noting the limitations of the classical view of rhetoric. It also described the nature of verbal, non-verbal and visual rhetoric. This chapter is significant to this study for the following reason: firstly, the identified verbal, non-verbal and visual rhetorical techniques are important in that they play a major role in the creation of both the latent and manifest meanings, within the texts themselves. Thus, analysing them within the texts, through social semiotics, will reveal both the latent and manifest meanings, as well as the underlying ideologies of the commercials. Secondly, the analysis of these forms of rhetoric should explicate/reveal the (possible) underlying and manifest representations of Afrocentrism and/or the Eurocentrism.

The next chapter discusses the nature of social semiotics as a theoretical approach *and* as a research methodological framework. It also covers the key “tools”, or dimensions, used to deconstruct the underlying latent and manifest meanings of verbal; non-verbal; and visual rhetoric within the selected political television advertisements.

CHAPTER FOUR: LITERATURE REVIEW (PART III): SOCIAL SEMIOTICS: THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Given the nature of the previous chapters, this chapter provides the main theoretical framework of the study, namely social semiotics. This theoretical framework is concerned with the creation of social meaning in verbal, visual and non-verbal rhetoric found in media texts (*i.e.* political television advertisements). The significance of the social semiotic theoretical approach to this research is the recognition and the influence of social meaning, of both the content and production of the television advertisements for election campaigns. Although this study focuses only on the former, the creation of meaning, and interpretation, of the content (social meaning within) of the texts in question. The creation of meaning by these texts within society, or from the production of the advertisements, falls outside of the purview of this study. In other words, this study is only a qualitative textual content (thematic) analysis with references to the context, or “social realities” in which the texts were produced. It not does include audience reception studies; impact studies; or effect studies. However, this chapter also reviews the literature of social semiotics as a research design/method.

Social semiotics is both a theoretical discourse as well as a research design/method. As a theoretical paradigm, it focusses on the creation of social meaning (within texts and within society); links social semiotic “signs” or “resources” as represented in texts, to contexts/socio-cultural environment; and, argues that all “resources” represent an ideology/ies. In contrast, social semiotics as a research method is directly linked to the theoretical paradigm: it provides the interpreter, or researcher, the “tools” or dimensions with which to deconstruct the “resources” (signs) found within the texts under analysis. Thereby enabling the researcher to make connections to the (unique) environments/contexts in which each text are produced. And in this study, this “context” is South African society; politics; history; economics; and culture; all of which are the result of decades of apartheid and colonial rule, and twenty-two years of democracy, with an A.N.C.-led government. In short, using social semiotics as both theory and a

research method combines a content analysis with analysis of the “social realities” in which these texts came to be made.

Following from the above, this chapter is divided into two sections. *Section A* provides a discussion of the nature of traditional semiotics, and its key seminal and secondary authors, namely Ferdinand de Saussure (1966); Charles Sanders Peirce (1992/1998) and Roland Barthes (1967; 1972; 1977). In addition, it provides a discussion of the limitations of the traditional semiotic approach. As social semiotics draws heavily from these bodies of work, they are important to note as they make up part of the foundations of social semiotics.

Section B provides a discussion of the nature of the social semiotic theoretical approach. As stated in *Chapter One: Introduction and Background*, social semiotics is the main theoretical framework of this study. *Section B* covers the seminal authors of the theoretical approach, namely Valentin Voloshinov (1973) and Michael Halliday (1978); Robert Hodge (1988); Gunther Kress (1988); and Theo van Leeuwen (1996). Social semiotics as a methodological research framework focuses on the seminal works of Gunther Kress (1988) and Theo van Leeuwen (1996) who expanded social semiotics from a theoretical approach to a research methodological framework that can be used in the analysis of media texts (such as political television commercials). Social semiotics as a research methodological framework includes the following dimensions or “tools”: discourse; representation; modality; genre; narrative; myth; and ideology. These are significant in the analysis of both the latent and manifest meanings of verbal, non-verbal and visual rhetoric, as well as any underlying or manifest meanings in these political advertisements.

Although *Section B* focuses on the research methodological framework of social semiotics which is also mentioned in *Chapter Five: Research Methodology*, it forms part of the literature review for the following reasons: firstly, social semiotics as a research framework is fairly “new” methodological approach for critical analysis, and it is thus important to contextualise its seminal authors. Secondly, social semiotics as a research methodology possesses diverse dimensions or tools that can be used in the analysis of latent and manifest meanings of non-verbal, verbal and visual rhetoric in media texts

such as political television commercials. For the latter reasons, it is deemed important in this chapter to identify, describe and define the nature of the relevant tools within the broader scope of social semiotics, namely: discourse (or “social reality”); representation; modality; genre; narrative; myth; and ideology. In addition, *Section B* provides a discussion of the limitations of both social semiotics as a theory and as a research method.

The next section of this chapter discusses the nature of semiotics, semiology and social semiotics.

4.2 SECTION A: SEMIOTICS, SEMIOLOGY AND SOCIAL SEMIOTICS: AN OVERVIEW

This section explains the overall nature of the traditional or classical semiotic approach. The concept of “semiotics” originates from the Greek word “*semainon*”, which means a sign or a science of signs, codes and meaning used in ancient Greek linguistics by the Stoic philosophers. The Stoics were the first to evolve a theory of signs in the third and second centuries B.C. (Brennan 2005:23). The Stoics observed that people communicate by means of signs with meanings that are either fixed or non-fixed, which form the basis of the semiotics assumption. What this means is that semiotics is concerned with communication and interaction between messages and people during which the process of the creation of meaning takes place. In this process, messages composed of signs and codes that derive meaning from the culture in which they are used are created. Thus, semiotics studies the relationship between the sign, the message, the users and the culture (Thwaites, Davis & Mules 2002:35). Semiotics therefore stems from the structuralist philosophy. Structuralism, according to O’Sullivan, Hartley, Saunders, Montgomery and Fiske (1983:225) is an “intellectual enterprise characterized [*sic*] by attention to the system, relations, forms and structures that makes meaning possible in any cultural activity”. This means that semiotics is not an autonomous field of study, but can be applied in a range of fields such as art; anthropology; literature; mass media; music; and sociology. Structuralism also suggests that humans and communication behaviour are directed by ever-changing cultural and social structures.

Structuralism has passed through several stages in its lifetime, from the age of the Stoics to the following two leading scholars: the Swiss linguist scholar, Ferdinand de Saussure (1857-1913) and the American philosopher, Charles Sanders Peirce (1839-1914), who are regarded as the founding fathers of “modern” semiotics. De Saussure’s premise of semiotics was that language should be studied as a system of signs, and he therefore refers to his system as “semiology” (cf. de Saussure 1966). Peirce’s premise of semiotics reasons that people think in signs (cf. Lacey 1998:56; Peirce 1992/1998).³⁷

The French scholar Roland Barthes, like Stuart Hall, both post-structuralists, saw semiotics as a way of analysing signs and codes as a method of interpretation. Barthes emphasised that the interpretation of the media text does not originate with the author of the text, but meaning originates with the audience, the reader and the viewer of the text (Barthes 1982).

There are several reasons for the choice of social semiotics and not traditional semiotics/semiology. Firstly, social semiotics rejects different forms of traditional semiotics, which does not recognise the significance of the social environment in which the social meaning is derived. Secondly, according to Hodge and Kress (1988:2), social semiotics attributes meaning in the specific social context of communication. Thirdly,

³⁷ Cf. the work of Stephen Anderson (1985), the *Phonology in the Twentieth Century: Theories of Rules and Theories of Representations* in which he chronicles the historical developments of the efforts made in the early 20th century to enhance understanding of the nature of the semiotics and semiology. He includes Russian Formalism (1910-1920), the Prague Linguistic Circle or the Prague School Semiotics (1930s-early 1940s); and the Paris School of Semiotics (1960s and 1970s). Umberto Eco (1932-2016), also contributed to the scholarly discourse with *A Theory of Semiotics*, and suggested that semiotics be unified as a method for approaching diverse phenomena such as culture. He was concerned with the relationship between signs and codes, and how signs are produced, decoded and interpreted (Eco 1979). Similarly, French anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss (1908-2009) focused not only of the surface content, but also on the underlying rules and codes that produce meaning. His work was concerned with identifying a deep structure of meaning in the narrative by means of taking the characters, setting and actions into account through binary oppositions (Lévi-Strauss 1952/1962; cf. Hodge & Kress 1988:208). The above structuralist movement was followed by the post-structuralist movement which included the likes of Stuart Hall (1932-2014) and Roland Barthes (1915-1980). Hall, a semiotic scholar, and his post-structuralist views on media are relevant to this study, in that he largely emphasised the role of media in the creation of the social reality, through “representation”, a dimension or tool of semiotics (Hall 2013). (Section B in this chapter discusses the theoretical concept of representation. In *Chapter Six and Seven*, the dimension of representation is used in the analysis of data).

social semiotics takes into consideration the significance of societal variables such as culture, economics, history and politics. Lastly, social semiotics takes into consideration the ever-changing social environment in which verbal, non-verbal and visual rhetoric is taking place, or representing within a text.

Although the above discussion provided only a brief historical overview of semiotics, it is important to note that the next part of this chapter does not focus exclusively on semiotics, as the approach was not the chosen method of analysis. Instead, it briefly provides foundational information on how the theory and methods of social semiotics originated and were developed, and from which scholar. Therefore, the chapter turns to Roland Barthes.

4.2.1 Roland Barthes: A semiological position

Roland Barthes was one of the first French semiologist scholars to study visual images. In his seminal works, the *Elements of Semiology* (1967) and *Images, Music and Text*, comprising of selected essays (1977), Barthes' premises of semiology are that the sign constitutes two types of layers of messages in the visual imagery and words of advertisement texts. Words or images (all "signs") in semiotics can either have a "denotative" or "connotative" meaning. The following sections focusses on Barthes' two semiological concepts: denotative and connotative.

4.2.1.1 Barthes: Denotative rhetorical meaning

According to Barthes (1977:44), denotative ("overt" or manifest) rhetorical signs are arbitrary, literal and objective in nature. He argues that it is a "myth" to suggest images are arbitrary and literal in nature. He reasons that if images were to remain arbitrary, there could have been no human intervention in the production of images. What this means is that there could have not been production techniques such as camera angles and shots, distance, focus, framing, lighting, settings and speed, involved in the production of either the video or photographs. Thus, the conscious decision to use such production techniques is connotative ("covert" or latent) and ideological in nature.

4.2.1.2 Barthes: Connotative rhetorical meaning

The connotative rhetorical meaning is the second level of meaning generated by both visual and verbal texts. The connotative nature of visual messages suggests the level of variation in the interpretation and the emotional value of the visual image. Barthes (1977:47) suggests that connotative meaning can be divided into two levels, that is, the primary and secondary levels. At the primary level, signs are connotative in nature, based on the cultural level, social group and shared values. Barthes (1977:47) reasons that the connotative signs are plural and coexist with other social environmental factors such as culture. Both visual and verbal signs in this context are coded and involve a very specific meaning.

At the secondary level, connotation is subjective and is based largely on personal or individual values and experiences. Barthes (1977:48) argues that connotative signs carries a second message, which is hidden. As such, he describes such messages as the “real world” experience which one associates with an expression or image one sees.

When a sign is contextualised, it automatically carries meaning—hence a signifier such as meaning is attached to the visual image. The sign is therefore connotative and non-arbitrary in nature. Barthes (1977:49) added that the connotative nature of the sign suggests varying sets of meaning which cannot be applied to a single set of a given society and history. Hence elements that constitute connotation in a sign involve colours, images, sound and verbal words (cf. *Chapters Six and Seven*).

The foregoing theoretical position of Barthes is significant to this study in that it introduces the idea of identifying both the denotative (manifest) and the connotative (latent) or the hidden ideological meaning contained within texts.

Stuart Hall, like Barthes, is a semiologist worth considering.

4.2.2 Stuart Hall: A semiological position

As pointed out earlier, Stuart Hall (1973) was a post-structuralist scholar of semiology and a founding father of cultural studies, which house semiology. His ideas cut across the audience’s interpretation of meaning and were published in his seminal work,

entitled *Encoding and Decoding in the Television Discourse* (1973). In his seminal work, Hall (1973) views media audiences as active audiences involved in the interpretation of the media text, which means they create their own meaning of media text. Although Hall (1973) was a leading scholar of the audience reception theory, for purposes of this study, the focus is on Hall's (2013) views of representation and the underlying meaning in a media text. To this end, Hall (2013) in his work, *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices* is primarily concerned with the implied meaning of the verbal, non-verbal and visual messages presented in the media text, such as television election campaign commercials.

The next section focuses on the criticism of traditional semiotics/semiology.

4.3 CRITICISM OF TRADITIONAL SEMIOTICS/SEMIOLOGY

The above introductory section on semiotics demonstrates the formal and traditional nature of semiotics. The criticism of traditional semiotics originated in the early 1980s, with among others, a University of Cambridge, scholar, Stephen Heath (1981). In his seminal work, *Questions of Cinema*, he critiques traditional semiotics by stating that it blocks the very understanding of how the mediated text is related to other social practices. He further argues that traditional semiotics is “in danger of becoming an obstacle rather than a royal road to the analysis of the text's political functioning” (Heath 1981:56). Like Heath, Robert Hodge and Gunther Kress (1988:10) argue that traditional semiotics is fragmented, isolated and “parcelled out” amongst various fields of study such as anthropology, art, film, history, literature and philosophy. They further posit that the dimensions of semiotics such as the codes, signs, interpreter, subject and text cannot be studied in isolation.

In addition, Robert Lapsely and Michael Westlake (1988:56-57) argue that traditional semiotics undermines the relationship between the subject (reader, listener and viewer) and the text (newspaper, television and images) as well as the significance of the social environment in which social meaning is derived. Theo van Leeuwen (2005) also criticised traditional semiotics as it is not interrelated with social practices such as

culture, history, language, politics and the economy. He suggests that semiotics needs to adapt its practices and understanding of how communication is related to other social practices. It is also for these reasons that this study sought to use social semiotics instead of traditional semiotics/semiology for textual analysis.

However, despite the above criticisms of traditional semiotics, there are number of following significant aspects thereof worth considering. Although Barthes is a post-structuralist scholar of semiology (whereas this specific study focuses on the social semiotic approach), it is important to note that this study draws the following significant aspects of Barthes' semiological perspectives. The denotative, connotative and ideological or social meaning. These different layered meanings are significant in the deconstruction of the underlying ideological (latent) and obvious (manifest) meaning of verbal, non-verbal and visual rhetoric in media (television) texts (election commercial campaign) such as political television advertisements. Thus, the semiological perspective of Barthes is relevant to social semiotics as a theoretical perspective. The next section focuses on the theory of social semiotics.

4.4 SOCIAL SEMIOTICS: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Social semiotics can be defined as a branch of the field of semiotics which is essentially concerned with the investigation and creation of meaning within media and cultural texts and its links to "social realities" or contexts; and within the social and cultural environment (Hodge & Kress 1988:10). The above definition suggests that social semiotics is concerned with the creation of the connotative (latent) and the denotative (manifest) meaning based on diverse social background such as the cultural, economic, historical, political and social environment. It can therefore also be applied or incorporated into various fields of study such as linguistics, sociology, cultural anthropology and semiotics (Lemke 1990:183).

The next section focuses on the key primary and secondary authors of social semiotics as a theory. The primary authors of this approach are Valentine Voloshinov (1973) and Michael Halliday (1978). The secondary authors and the most notable contributors to social semiotics are Robert Hodge (1988), Gunther Kress (1988) and

Theo van Leeuwen (1996). It is the latter authors that are the focus of this chapter, as both Voloshinov (1973)³⁸ and Halliday (1978) approach social semiotics from a purely linguistic perspective. However, Voloshinov does argue that signs cannot be isolated from material realities and furthermore, and he sees them as ideological in nature. Signs therefore carry specific meaning, which is inherent in the social environment. Michael Halliday (1978)³⁹ similarly argues that in social semiotics, diverse means of communication (signs) cannot be isolated or divorced from their social situations or contexts.

In other words, political advertisements are analysed (manifest and latent meanings) in the socio-cultural; political and economic contexts which gave rise to their production (cf. *Chapter Six* and *Chapter Seven*). To briefly encapsulate, the above seminal authors therefore postulate the following: firstly, a sign is inherent in the social environment in which it exists; and secondly, a sign creates the social meaning (within cultural and media texts as well within socio-cultural situations). Lastly, a sign is ideological in nature.

The next sections focus on the secondary works of the theoretical approach, namely the works of Robert Hodge, Gunther Kress (1988) and Theo van Leeuwen (1996). It is worth noting that while these are technically secondary sources of social semiotics, because they have made such a unique contribution to the scholarly field, they are seminal authors. As such, they are the foundational works for this study. However, for this literature review, they remain referenced as secondary sources.

Robert Hodge and Gunther Kress' (1988:37) ground-breaking work, entitled the *Social Semiotics*, premises the position of social semiotics from the context of the creation of meaning. What this means is that the social environment is significant in the creation of the meaning of a sign or rather the "resource" (Hodge & Kress 1988:37). Gunther Kress and Theo van Leeuwen (1996), who in their work entitled *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design* suggest the following: social semiotics can be used as a

³⁸ *Marxism and the Philosophy of Language*.

³⁹ *Language as a Social semiotic: The Social Interpretation of Language and Meaning*. Cf. *Language, Context and Text: Aspects of Language in a Social-semiotic Perspective* (1989).

theoretical approach and a research framework (for qualitative content analysis). They further argue that social semiotics as a critical qualitative content analysis can be used in the analysis of visual, verbal and non-verbal material of media texts (such as film; music; and television). Fourthly, they propose that different interpretative dimensions or “tools” (such as genre, ideology, narrative and discourse) are significant and can be used in the interpretation of visual, verbal and non-verbal rhetoric within these texts.

Theo van Leeuwen, in his innovative work, *Introducing Social Semiotics* (2005), defines a semiotic “resource” (sign) as anything that ranges from an art work; human behaviour; physical activity; word; or, visual image: all of which has been produced within a specific social environment. For example, an art work as a semiotic resource can be described as a “semiotic potential” (Van Leeuwen 2005:10). By “semiotic potential”, Van Leeuwen (2005) suggests that it has the potential for making or creating meaning. For instance, an art work possesses different observable artistic features. Thus, the art work can be categorised according to its different inherent “attributes” and “set” of characteristics. It is these different “sets” and “attributes” which determine the semiotic potential, or meaning, that it creates (within a text itself, and in in social contexts). Each semiotic “resource” (or sign) is therefore capable of producing multiple meanings in different social and cultural contexts; as well as within the text itself. The meaning of the text however, is interpreted by taking the social environment or context into account. In other words, the text is not studied in isolation or within a vacuum. The social semiotic potential or the meaning potential can thus be studied in a particular social context. Therefore, with regards to this study, the content of the three advertisements are analysed along with their socio-cultural, historical and economic environment (within which they were produced).⁴⁰

The next section of this chapter deals with the theoretical assumptions of social semiotics.

⁴⁰ Cf. *Chapters Six and Seven*.

4.5 SOCIAL SEMIOTICS: FURTHER THEORETICAL EXPOSITION

The theoretical nature of social semiotics focuses on the work of Hodge and Kress (1988); Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996); and Van Leeuwen (2005). The work of Hodge and Kress (1988:1) proposes the following key premises: firstly, social semiotics as a theoretical approach which acknowledges that semiotic systems are intrinsic to the functioning of the social environment and thus cannot be studied in isolation. Secondly, a sign or a “resource” in the context of social semiotics, is not divorced or isolated from the social and cultural environment, but rather, the environment to which the “resource” (or “signs”, which include verbal; non-verbal; and visual material) belongs is significant to the creation of social meaning (within the text itself, as well within society). Furthermore, Hodge and Kress (1988) highlight the following three relevant areas in the theoretical approach of social semiotics. Firstly, the audience exposed to media text is not a passive audience—it is an active audience involved in the interpretation of the meaning of the media text such as a television election commercials. This means that what is in the audience’s mind is important. Secondly, the media production process plays a significant role in the production of the underlying ideological meaning through a careful selection of camera shots, camera movement, settings, costumes, lighting and music in the case of television. In the case of print media, media produces ideological meaning through the careful selection of verbal text such as words, symbols, images and colours. In other words, social semiotics is essentially concerned with what is in the producer’s mind. Thirdly, the ability of the media to represent the underlying social meaning is based on the diverse social environment attached to selected visual and verbal, and non-verbal “resources” such as words and images represented in the media text in the television advertisements.

This thesis *only* makes use of the *third approach*. Firstly, this study is not concerned with doing either audience reception studies, or impact or effect studies. Secondly, this study is a qualitative content analysis of the election campaign television commercials. Therefore, the researcher did not interview the producers of the advertisements. As such, this study only focuses on the manifest and latent meanings within the

advertisements and the very diverse socio-cultural; historical; political; and economic environments within which they were produced.

Hodge and Kress (1988), Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996:42-43) highlight the following three theoretical positions of the social semiotic theory in relation to the creation of social meaning. Firstly, a “resource” suggests that the verbal, non-verbal or visual aspects of communication, in the meaning-making process in the social semiotic environment, is placed in a specific situational and cultural context to which the sign is produced rather than having “meaning by decree” or “intrinsic relationship” (Kress & Van Leeuwen 1996:43). In others words, the semiotic “resource” must be able to represent the aspects of the world as it is experienced by humans. Secondly, these “resources” must relate to each other both internally and externally (within the text and in the context in which they are produced). The above theoretical positions are essential to this study, in that they highlight the creation of social meaning within the social semiotic resource such as the verbal, non-verbal and visual rhetoric in the media texts.

Theo van Leeuwen (2005) emphasises that diverse social variables are essential in the creation of underlying and manifest meaning within a text (cf. *Chapters Six and Seven*). They include culture; economics; ethics; ethnicity; gender; gestures; images; knowledge; background; language; music; politics; and, religion.

The work of Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996) further demonstrated with analysis of different visual images, that social semiotics can also be recognised as a research methodology framework that can be used in analyses of the underlying latent and manifest ideological meanings of verbal, visual and non-verbal rhetoric. The next section in this chapter deals with the social semiotic as a research methodology rather than a theoretical approach. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, social semiotics is a research framework which under normal circumstances should be discussed in research methodology chapter. However, because of the following two reasons, this chapter discusses social semiotic research methodology as part of the literature review: firstly, social semiotics is a fairly “new” research methodological framework of the critical analysis which dates to the mid-1990s. Secondly, as a research methodology it possesses diverse “tools” that can be used in the analysis of latent and manifest meanings in media texts.

As such, it is important in this chapter to identify, describe and define in-depth the nature of these relevant social semiotic “tools”.

4.6 SECTION B: SOCIAL SEMIOTICS AS A RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

From the outset, it is important to note that social semiotics is situated within the broader field of critical discourse analysis. Social semiotics as a research methodological framework was developed by Gunther Kress and Theo van Leeuwen (1996) in their book entitled *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design*. In their work, Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996) argue that there are major structures that have become established conventions in Western societies that are used in the production of the meaning of verbal, visual and non-verbal rhetoric. These established conventions resonate with the hegemonic nature of the Eurocentric postcolonial perspective discussed in *Chapter Two* of this study. Given that they are focused on the production and conventions, or practices of the media text, they propose that social semiotics can therefore not only be used as a theoretical paradigm, but can also be understood as a category of discourse analysis that specialises in the deconstruction of media texts *and* society.

Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996:18) further point out the following: firstly, social semiotics is interested in the deconstruction of the hidden (latent) and manifest ideological meanings of resources such as verbal, visual and non-verbal rhetoric that contributes towards the creation of social meaning (within a text and within in society). Secondly, it systematically investigates how social semiotic “resources” (signs) are used to convey the underlying, and overt, socio-cultural; political; historical; and economic meanings of verbal; visual; and, non-verbal rhetoric.

Given the established set of conventions used in the production of meaning, the visual analysis study conducted by Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996) identified the following dimensions, “tools”, or apparatuses. These “tools” are used in the analysis of verbal, non-verbal and visual rhetoric: representation; narrative; conceptual structure; the relationship between actors and viewers presented in the visual image; the setting and the props; the actors’ appearance; modality; composition of the image; colour; and the

interactive meaning and symbols. With the above elements of social semiotics, Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996) maintain that these dimensions are significant in that, the visual image not only reflects “reality”, but also constructs the underlying hidden meaning in society. The above dimensions of social semiotics also offer a detailed and systematic way of describing non-verbal, verbal and visual rhetoric within the visual image.

Kress and Van Leeuwen’s work (1996) is highly relevant to the present study for the following three reasons: firstly, their (1996) study serves as a precedent for undertaking current and future studies of social semiotics; including this research. Secondly, their work proposes that social semiotics is a research framework by which one can analyse the latent and manifest ideological meanings of non-verbal, visual and verbal rhetoric in media text such as the political television commercials. Thirdly, their study, and methodological framework, contributes different sets of tools or dimensions through which the latent and manifest ideological meanings of the (“resource”) non-verbal, visual and verbal rhetoric of the text can be analysed.

The next section considers several studies which clearly demonstrate how the social semiotic research framework is used both as a methodology and a theoretical framework.

4.6.1 Previous social semiotic studies

It is important to note that the studies referred to here are based on commercial advertisements and not specifically political television advertisements. They are however essential to this study, in that they specifically use social semiotics both as a theoretical approach and a research methodological framework. In addition, these studies provide supplementary relevant dimensions, or tools, that can be used in the analysis of the non-verbal; visual; and, verbal aspects of both print and television commercials, including political advertisements. The first study of note is by Carey Jewitt and Rumiko Oyama (2001), entitled *Visual Meaning: A Social Semiotic Approach*, which provides an analysis of health advertisements. Jewitt and Oyama’s (2001) exploration proposes further social semiotic tools, which are as follows: the representation of meaning; interactive meaning; compositional meaning; and, modality.

These extra apparatuses are helpful to this study in explicating both the apparent, and the hidden ideological meanings of visual rhetoric. In another article by Jewitt (1997), *Images of Men: Male Sexuality in Sexual Health Leaflets and Posters for Young People*, she successfully uses social semiotics as a research method (specifically modality and representation) to analyse and deconstruct visual images of male sexuality and health posters. Similarly, Rick Iedema (2001), in his work *Analysing Film and Television: A Social Semiotic Account of Hospitals. An Unhealthy Business*, uses six dimensions (genre; ideology; production techniques, such as camera shots, settings, the narrative structure of scenes and meaning) to reveal the creation of the latent and manifest ideological meanings in film and television texts. While Theo van Leeuwen (2005) in his book, *Introduction to Social Semiotics*, points out the importance of discourse; genre; style; and modality in the analysis of visual; verbal; and, non-verbal rhetoric. He specifically argues that these dimensions are essential in the analysis of latent and manifest meanings and the socially defined social in which media texts are produced (1995). In other words, he considers the context in which these texts were produced tantamount. This is relevant to the interrogation of political advertisements, as they are not created in isolation or in a vacuum, rather texts of political commercials are created within a particular socio and political environment.

Based on the work of Jewitt and Oyama (2001); Jewitt (1997); Iedema (2001); Kress and van Leeuwen (1996); and Van Leeuwen (2005); for the purposes of this research the following dimensions of the social semiotic research framework are used: discourse; representation; modality; genre; myth; narrative; and, ideology. They will assist with the interpretation and deconstruction of meaning (latent and manifest) within the texts themselves (all the while taking context into account). In doing so, they will help determine whether the Afrocentric and/or the Eurocentric perspectives are represented in the selected political television commercials. It is important to note that these social semiotic dimensions can be seen as a working model for analysing non-verbal; verbal; and visual rhetoric in the three advertisements in question.

The next section describes the nature of these social semiotic dimensions.

4.6.2 Dimensions (“tools”) of the social semiotic research methodology framework

As stated previously, Hodge and Kress (1988); Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996); and Van Leeuwen (2005) identified the seven dimensions of the social semiotic research framework. These are: discourse; representation; modality; genre; narrative; myth; and, ideology.

4.6.2.1 Discourse

The first dimension or tool of the social semiotic research methodology is discourse. According to Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996), discourse is a way of articulating and disseminating a particular power, knowledge and social reality, which can be presented through verbal, non-verbal and visual rhetoric in media texts (such as political television commercials). The concept of discourse as it is used in social semiotics, originates with the work of Michel Foucault (1926-1984) a post-structuralist French philosopher. Discourse, and its sub-parts, are essential in the creation of the underlying social meaning. Foucault (1977:49) conceptualised discourse as a “social construction of reality”, which, as a form of knowledge determines the nature of a specific knowledge and certain behaviours in a particular social context or environment. It pertains to how a society, in this case, South Africa, should do and communicate things, and the overall social knowledge; culture; and history of a specific society. South Africa’s socio- historical, cultural, and political context is particularly unique (apartheid and postcolonialism). Given that discourse is concerned with the construction of social knowledge and social meaning in overall society, Hodge and Kress (1988:6) further argue that discourse is a social practice; a social process; and social structure; under which a media text, such as a political television commercial, is produced. This means that these various social practices are seen largely as social ambiguities in which individuals within a specific society do things according to defined social practices. These social practices cannot be seen as an isolated phenomenon; rather they are socially determined, and socially produced phenomena, which serve particular social purposes to make a coherent set of meanings.

Van Leeuwen (2005:98) further contributed to the understanding of “discourse” by including the following: firstly, knowledge about the political, economic and social injustices of a particular race, or society. Secondly, the historical origination of a social phenomenon within a specific social-cultural context, such as the institution of a political party. “Social distribution”, the third element of discourse, is discourse as expressed by “social authorities”. These “social authorities” could be from the same body of knowledge (*i.e.* profession). They could also refer to an international body of power, such as a political party, as well as a centre for political and economic research. Alternatively, it could also refer to a specific medium, such as a television channel or newspaper, that deals with a very certain “discourse”, such as economics; business; or politics. For example, in South Africa, newspapers such as the *Business Day* focus largely on the discourse of economics and business compared to the *Daily Maverick* and the *Mail & Guardian*, which are investigative and focus largely on the discourse of South African politics.⁴¹

The concept of “discourse” is interlinked with the dimension, or tool, of “representation”, the second dimension of the social semiotic approach.

4.6.2.2 Representation

Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996:95) identified representation as highly significant in this specific framework. It is a form of interpretation that can be defined as a process in which meaning is produced and exchanged between members of a culture through the use of language, signs and images which stand for, or, represent things (Hall 1997:10). In other words, representation can be seen as a form of interpretation where media portrays a particular group or community, experiences and ideas from a particular ideological perspective (Hall 1997). The above definition of representation suggests that it symbolises that which stands for something—a mental representation primarily concerned, for example, with the portrayal and a description of a race, gender and identity, from a very specific ideological point of view.

⁴¹ *Chapters Six and Seven* of this study return to the dimension of discourse in the analysis of the latent and manifest meanings of verbal, non-verbal and visual rhetoric of the media texts under scrutiny.

As with other elements of this research method, the term “representation” does not originate with Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996) but was appropriated from Stuart Hall (1932-2014). According to Hall (2013:8), representation stands for “something else” which, was created with a specific purpose in mind, that is, to convey something specific in a controlled environment such as language in which meaning is produced. Without language, the production of meaning cannot take place because people need to use these linguistic codes of language to represent meaning such as clothes, food, water, music and shelter, to mention a few, to create meaning which is shared by a group of people.

Representation is usually presented in the form of iconic and symbolic codes to express “something” that a society holds as a shared meaning. Furthermore, Hall (2013:8) maintains that the significance of representation is a process by which meaning is produced and exchanged between its members. He argues that meaning is not inherent in things, but is constructed and produced through language. Hall (2013) also maintains that over time, meaning changes, just as society changes. As pointed out in *Chapter Three* (rhetoric), one can deduce from Hall (2013:9) that representation is a cultural phenomenon which provides a framework for examining the cultural codes within texts. Hall (2013) also suggests the following tools of representation that are useful in studying the selected advertisements: “reflective”, “intentional” and “constructionist”. Hall’s reflective tool of representation is a “language function” that acts like a mirror and which reflects the true meaning of the practical world (Hall 2013:10). For example, media news (television or newspaper) is taken to reflect what exists in the social environment as the reality and claims to represent the accurate social environment of a specific society. Furthermore, media news also claims to reflect real life as it shows real people in real situations.

The second tool of representation proposed by Hall (2013) is the intentional tool which refers to a speaker imposing meaning through language.⁴² The third tool of

⁴² One can consider the following examples of the internet news headline in the U.S.’s presidential election campaign of the Republican candidate Donald Trump: “Violent Black and Latino Activists Invade Trump Rally—Trump Supporters Strike Back” (Hayes 2015) and “State Police Drag Radical Screaming Black-Latino Activists from Trump Rally in Richmond” (Taylor 2015). These headlines describe black

representation is the “constructionist” tool. Hall (2013:11) argues that members of society, institutions, (such as government, business, political organisations, education, health, religion and justice), are actively involved in the construction of both the material and symbolic meaning of the world.⁴³ In the light of the above discussion, it is fitting to conclude that Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996:95) appear to have borrowed extensively from Hall’s notion of representation. In social semiotics as a research method, representation therefore refers to how society is represented in media texts. This means that representation involves the depiction, portrayal and symbols that stand for something. Furthermore, representation suggests that societies, identities and social relationships are represented within a defined media text, in this case the political television commercial.

Given the above, Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996) identify the dimension of representation as a highly significant dimension of the social semiotic research framework. They have, however, added to Hall’s meaning, stipulating that (Kress & Van Leeuwen 1996:95) representation also refers to how society is represented in the media text. In addition, they (Kress & Van Leeuwen 1996) identify the following elements of representation in the visual rhetoric: the “participant”; the “narrative processes”; “events”; “goals”; “symbols”; and, “settings”.

people and Latinos as “violent” and “invaders”, which suggests the diminishing of non-whites who occupy a white space such as Donald Trump’s election campaign rally (Hayes 2015). They also suggest that black people and Latinos, are violent people, without civil manners, “screaming” and shouting in public places occupied particularly by whites and Donald Trump supporters (Taylor 2015). They also imply that white supremacy has been undermined and disrespected by the minorities, namely blacks and Latinos who occupy marginal socio-economic positions in American society. These examples suggest that meaning is determined by the speaker, in this case, journalists, using a careful selection of words either to promote a favourable position (*i.e.* “thugs”; “barbarians”; “loud”) or an unfavourable (*i.e.* “quietly standing”) position.

⁴³One can think of the influence that the institutions such as media play in the representation of black people infected with H.I.V./AIDS. Newspaper headlines, such as “Aids toll is heavier on blacks” (Cooper 1994) and “Crises in Black America H.I.V./AIDS cases in the U.S.A. rival those in Africa” (Mashaun 2008), firstly, suggest that H.I.V./AIDS is a racial issue affecting primarily black people. Secondly, they suggest that H.I.V./AIDS is a class issue affecting largely poor black people in America or Africa. Thirdly, they suggest that H.I.V./AIDS is a gender issue associated largely with black women rather than white women. Thus, news reports by Cooper (1994), for example, claim that black women are nearly 15 times more likely to contract H.I.V./AIDS than their white counterparts. In addition, such reports further claim that black people in general lead a promiscuous life and as such they have brought this upon themselves and could infect others as well. In representing black people in this nature, Cooper (1994) constructs an image of the infected that is both discriminatory and prejudiced against black people.

By “participants”, Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996:47) suggest the representation of people and objects that come in different shapes and sizes. Furthermore, representation of participants involves actors; actions; events; symbols; and settings. “Actors” in the context of representation involve individuals or a collective group of men and women represented in the form of non-verbal rhetoric in the media text. Actors also involve the representation of objects as non-verbal rhetoric in the media text (Kress & Van Leeuwen 1996:47). “Actions” is usually represented as non-verbal and visual rhetoric in the media text (Kress & Van Leeuwen 1996). For example, the representation of events such as mass protests, political rallies and political campaigns can be represented as non-verbal and visual rhetoric in the media text (Kress & Van Leeuwen 1996:64). Goals such as the winning of the elections can be represented in a text as rhetoric, which suggests the actual participants at whom the action is aimed. “Symbols” can be represented in texts in non-verbal and visual rhetoric forms (such as colours, body gestures the clenching of fists, spears, and flags). While “settings” can represent the events where the participants (using rhetoric) are involved in various activities (for instance, mass demonstrations; political rallies; political party election campaigns; political party conferences; and, political debates by opposing political parties) (Kress & Van Leeuwen 1996:65).

To recap the above discussion: representation constructs the social meaning of the media text. It identifies and deconstructs the underlying latent and manifest meanings of verbal, non-verbal and visual rhetoric of the text in question (cf. *Chapter Three*). It will therefore assist in determining whether the latent and manifest meanings represent either the Afrocentric or Eurocentric perspectives, or both perspectives (cf. *Chapter Two*). *Chapters Six and Seven* revisit the dimension of representation in the analysis of the verbal, non-verbal and visual rhetoric of the media text under scrutiny.

Most significantly, representation interlink with other dimensions of social semiotics such as modality, genre and ideology. The interlink between modality and representation suggests that media uses different modalities to represent ideological and social meanings.

The next section focuses on the third dimension of social semiotic research framework, namely modality.

4.6.2.3 Modality

According to Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996:155), the concept of modality refers to the channels and medium that represents reality, credibility or the truth in a media text. The dimension of modality is not only limited to the linguistic or verbal form of communication, but is also seen as a significant dimension of visual communication. In other words, modality is significant to non-verbal, visual and verbal rhetoric. Hence in the context of the social semiotic environment, Van Leeuwen (2005:162-165) proposes the following three varying degrees of modalities: “low”; “median” and “high”. Verbal low modality refers to the use of auxiliary verbs (such as “may”); and median modalities suggest the use of “will”. High modality refers to the use of “must” in linguistic/verbal text (Van Leeuwen 2005:162). In addition to the use of auxiliary verbs, verbal modality uses adverbs such as, “possibly”; “probably”; “certainly” and includes the use of adjectives such as: “possible”; “probable”; and “certain”. Thus, the higher the modality, the higher the probability level of truth represented in the social semiotic environment. *Chapter Six* uses the low, median and high modalities in the analysis of verbal rhetoric. Modality is also represented in visual rhetoric: suggest the following areas that represent modality in visual rhetoric: place; people; body language; and, objects, such as colour, clothing and the articulation of background (lighting, depth and shade); and the articulation of varying degrees of the detailed background of lighting, depth and shade in the visual text that convey varying degrees of reality about visual rhetoric in the social semiotic environment (Kress & Van Leeuwen 1996; Van Leeuwen 2005:165-171). In other words, these different degrees of visual rhetoric represent, for example, opinions, factual information, fictions and fantasies of the visual image.

Chapter Seven returns to the dimension of modality in the analysis of visual rhetoric such as colour, dress code, settings, logos, music and people used in the media text.

In summary, the dimension of modality creates and identifies the social meaning in a text (cf. *Chapter Three*).

Having discussed the nature of modality and its significance to this specific study, the next section focuses on the fourth dimension of the social semiotic research framework, namely genre.

4.6.2.4 Genre

Genre is the third dimension of the social semiotic research framework, which historically, genre comes from the Latin word, “*genus*”, which means a “kind” or “type” of something or rather how things are done in a certain way. For the purpose of this study, genre is defined as a collection of rhetoric that shares a common and unique set of characteristics that governs or rules the expression rhetoric in media texts (Van Leeuwen 2005:122).

Hodge and Kress (1988:7-8) postulate that communication actions that make up genres in the social practice contain elements such as actors, historical time, narrative structure and settings. The first type of genre is an actor which Hodge and Kress (1988), suggests are “characters” which can be classed according to a precise type. These “types” include, for example, the “hero”, “heroine” and “villain”. The second type of genre is the historical time or period. The element of the historical period suggests the representation of a time or era in history represented by a verbal, non-verbal and visual rhetoric. The third type of genre is the narrative structure. According to Hodge and Kress (1988:229), the narrative structure can be described as an organisation of the social world as constructed in the media text such as a political television commercial. Narrative story also refers to a logical connected sequence of events. The fourth type of genre is settings. Settings refer to the location in terms of the physical place and the historical time as well as the cultural setting.

The above types of genres are significant in that they classify and group specific kinds or types of rhetorical codes, conventions and rules found in media text such as political television commercials in the context of the social semiotic research methodology framework. These different types of genres can also be said to possess a number of constituents which represent and enhance the nature of a genre as a significant dimension

of the social semiotic research framework (Hodge & Kress 1988:7). Thus, genre is significant to this study in that, it helps to identify and understand the social meanings of media texts (cf. *Six* and *Seven*).

The next section discusses the narrative as the fifth dimension of the social semiotic research framework.

4.6.2.5 Narrative

Narrative is the fifth dimension of the social semiotics research methodology identified by Hodge and Kress (1988) and Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996). Narrative is derived from the Latin word “*narre*”, which means “to make known”—in other words, narration conveys information to the public (Kress & Van Leeuwen 1996:59). However, this does not suggest that every media text such as print advertisements that provides information is a narrative. What distinguishes narratives from other forms of information is that they present information in a connected sequence of events. The sequence of events in narratives is not random, but they are logically structured, which means that each event causes another event – hence a structured narrative model. Narrative as a dimension of the social semiotic research framework involves various actors who participate in the sequence of events. According to Hodge and Kress (1988:230), actors involved in the narrative process represent the social meaning of the verbal, non-verbal and visual rhetoric of the political television commercial.

As already noted, Roland Barthes (1990:17) is a post-structuralist. However, his views on narrative remain relevant and significant and are worth considering in the social semiotic research methodology framework. In his seminal work, *Se7en*, he identifies the following important narrative characters or codes which are significant for the creation of the social meaning. The first narrative characters or codes are individual or group characters such as people, objects and settings, speech, clothing and gestures. These convey a distinct set of meanings, which can be both latent and manifest (Barthes 1990). The second set of narrative characters is the symbolic codes, which can be described as “fields” in which culture articulates meaning through the representation of symbolic identities so that the opposition appears natural—hence the binary opposition (Barthes 1990:18). The third set of narrative characters is the action code, which

suggests the code of behaviour of individual characters, through the understanding of life experiences of other characters (Barthes 1990). The fourth set of narrative codes of Barthes (1990), is the cultural code which is the object code that represents a sense of social reality, that is, the day-to-day routines of the society, knowledge of the social culture, societal politics, social art, history, and the attitudes and values of the society.

Hodge and Kress (1988:229) point out the following significance of narratives as a dimension of the social semiotic research framework: Firstly, narrative in the context of the social semiotic research methodological framework contributes towards the understanding of the social relations of the participants involved in the production of meaning. Secondly, the structure of a narrative reveals a society's value system. Thirdly, narrative offers specific social meaning. Fourthly and most importantly, narratives convey the underlying ideology of a society, or community. Lastly, like discourse and genre, narrative as a tool of social semiotics unpacks the underlying latent and manifest meaning of the verbal and visual rhetorical in the media text under scrutiny.

Hodge and Kress (1988) also view narrative as a social semiotic tool that can be used to unpack the underlying latent and manifest ideological meaning and societal values through Claude Lévi-Strauss's theory of binary oppositions. Although Claude Lévi- Strauss is a structuralist, a social anthropologist and not a social semiotic scholar, his perspective is significant to the current study, in that his work focuses on the transfer of meaning in the media text through the binary oppositions approach. Binary opposition suggests the understanding of the society through the binaries articulated by its relationship, oppositions of good versus bad, civilisation versus primitiveness and whiteness versus blackness (Hodge & Kress 1988:209) (cf. *Chapter Six and Seven*).

In concluding this section, the dimension of narrative helps to identify the social meaning of the media text.

The next section discusses the sixth dimension of the social semiotic research framework, namely myth.

4.6.2.6 Myth

From a social semiotic perspective, myth is defined as a socially constructed meaning in support of a particular viewpoint, approach, culture or ideology (Hodge & Kress 1988:36). Barthes (1972:117) views myth as a sign that possess two parts, namely a signifier and the signified. By the signifier, Barthes (1972) suggest that myth is an observable physical form such as the sound, word and picture, while the signified is unobservable—it is a mental concept, knowledge, past experiences, memory, facts, ideas and decisions that the signifier refers to. The sign holds the denotative first-order of meaning, which is obvious to everyone, whereas a sign holds an underlying connotative meaning, the second-order meaning.

Thus, the concept of “myth” is central to this study, is the fact that the social semiotic resources of myth possess both the obvious (manifest) meaning and the hidden (latent) meaning in the media text under scrutiny. While the manifest meaning suggests that myth is observable and obvious, the significance of the latent meaning of myth is that, it is a potent way of meaning making in this particular case, the political television commercial. Henry Tudor (1972), a political scholar whose field falls outside of the social semiotics paradigm, suggests certain perspectives on myth worth considering in the current study (which is interdisciplinary and overlaps with the disciplines of political science and media studies). Given Tudor’s (1972:16) background as a political scholar, he observed that myths in a political (social) environment convey a hidden and social meaning. He therefore proposes that in-order-to elicit the hidden meaning, myths need to be reduced into sizeable segments which can be examined, analysed and revealed. Given the significance of myth in the political (social) environment, Tudor (1972) proposes that it can be used as a significant tool for the interpretation of the social environment, by telling a story of the society’s history, culture, economics and political success.

Another work by political scholars Dan Nimmo and James Combs (1980), *The Subliminal Politics*, is worth considering as they define myth as a common belief shared by a large group of people that give events and actions relative social meaning. Nimmo and Combs (1980) suggest myth is a commonly-held belief by a group of people with a

particular political or a social concern, expressing an issue that affects a particular society that attaches a significant set of values and beliefs.

Although myth is a significant dimension of the social semiotic perspective, it is important to note that the dimension is a broad concept that can be applied to a wide range of fields of studies in the social sciences. Given that the current study is in large part political communication, the work of Nimmo and Combs (1980) is relevant to here in that it provides this study with key categories of the representation of myth from which it could analyse the dimension of myths found within the media text under scrutiny.

Nimmo and Combs (1980) analysed the dimension of myth in political television commercials in U.S. elections campaign commercials. Their findings suggests the following categories of myth: “master” myth; “us and them” myth; and, the “heroic” myth. These myths are expressed through non-verbal, verbal and visual rhetoric to produce a social meaning.

4.6.2.6.1 Nimmo and Combs’ category of myth: “Master” myth

“Master” myth is Nimmo and Combs’ (1980:27) first category of myths. According to them, the “master” myth is a broad, overarching rhetorical myth used during the election process. It constitutes the collective consciousness of an entire society which includes, the national values shared by the overall society. In addition, master myths are broken down further into the foundational myth, the sustaining myth and the eschatological myth (Nimmo & Combs 1980).

The first type of master myth, the “foundational” myth, is concerned with the representation of the historical nature of the society from its primitive state to the developed state (Nimmo & Combs 1980:27). The foundational myth offers a rhetorical narrative of how the society progressed from its early primitive state to a more advanced and developed state of the society. The second type of master myth, the sustaining myth, is concerned with enhancing and maintaining the political relationship between the political party and the public (Nimmo & Combs 1980:27). This myth uses visual rhetoric such as public figures, celebrities and ordinary citizens to endorse and articulate their preferences for the potential political party to a point of being a governing party.

The third type of the master myth, the “eschatological” myth, uses verbal and visual rhetoric to express the nation’s or society’ future on the basis of its past and present achievements (Nimmo & Combs 1980:27). The “eschatological” myth is represented through a rhetoric of the society’s history, that is, the country’s historical challenges, how it overcame those challenges and its current achievements such as arts, economics, politics, science and technology, as well as international sporting achievements.

The “eschatological” myth uses the following subcategories: “Ethnocentrism”, “altruistic democracy”, “responsible capitalism” and “order myth”. The “ethnocentric” eschatological myth uses visual, verbal and non-verbal rhetoric to express the representation of the mission and vision of a political party (which is often made during television election campaign commercials) (Nimmo & Combs 1980:28).

The “altruistic democracy” (“eschatological”) myth makes use of verbal, non-verbal and visual rhetoric such as the policy issues of social security, free housing, employment creation, and support for small and medium- sized businesses (Nimmo & Combs 1980:28).

The “responsible capitalism” (“eschatological”) myth refers to economic opportunities such as the creation of business opportunities, small businesses, increase of foreign investment attraction, employment creation, economic growth, the creation of wealth and the middle class, as well as tax incentives for the wealthy classes (Nimmo & Combs 1980:29).

The “order” (“eschatological”) myth identified by Nimmo and Combs (1980:30) is concerned with the social and political order of the nation, which needs to be preserved through non-sexism, multiculturalism, multiracialism and different forms of social cohesion (cf. *Chapter Six* and *Chapter Seven*).

Now that the previous sections of this study have explored categories and sub- categories of “master” myths, the next sections consider the second category of myths, namely the “us” and “them” myths (Nimmo & Combs 1980:31).

4.6.2.6.2 Nimmo and Combs’ category of myth: The “us” and “them” myth

The “us” and “them” myth is a second category of Nimmo and Combs’ (1980) myths, which uses the following verbal, non-verbal and visual rhetoric to divide specific groups and collectives from others in the particular society. The “us” and “them” myth may include, for example, locals against foreigners, class division between the rich and the poor, the anti-abortion issue between extreme conservative Christians and liberal Christians and anti-gay marriage debate (Nimmo & Combs 1980:34). The “us” and “them” myths demonstrate the power structure or dynamics in a society –that is, the clash between the privileged groups in society and the marginal members of society. In addition, the “us” and “them” myth is represented through the ideological differences in a society, such as liberalist versus the conservatives, capitalist versus socialist. Hence the “us” and “them” myth in a nutshell suggests the struggles within the society that pit different social, political and economic cultures against one another.

Like the “master” myth, in *Chapters Six and Seven*, the discussion returns to the “us” and “them” myth in the analysis of the verbal, non-verbal and visual rhetoric of the media text.

The next section of this chapter now considers the third category of myth, namely the “heroic” myth.

4.6.2.6.3 Nimmo and Combs’ category of myth: The “heroic” myth

The “heroic” myth is the last type of myth. It suggests the representation of a popular political figure such as a human rights activist or a political party with historical credentials that fought against human rights violation in a society and was capable of overcoming that society’s most difficult obstacles such as oppression, discrimination and slavery (Nimmo & Combs 1980:83). The “heroic” myth therefore uses the rhetorical function of electioneering campaigns, which suggests that obstacles in a society can be

overcome under the leadership of a notable “heroic” political leader or political party (Gustainis 1989:42). The use of the “heroic” myth is usually through the extensive and impressive narrative of the potential party’s historical credentials, political profile, political achievements and success ⁴⁴ (cf. *Chapter Six* and *Chapter Seven*).

Thus far, this chapter has discussed the above dimensions of the social semiotic research framework: Discourse, representation, genre, narrative and myth. The next section focuses on the seventh dimension of the social semiotic research methodology, namely ideology.

4.6.2.7 Ideology

Ideology is commonly defined as a system of beliefs, ideas and values of a particular group of people in a society or that society as a whole (Geuss 1981:3). This perspective suggests that every group in society has its own ideology, a set of ideas that provide a selective interpretation of reality. However, ideology from a social semiotic perspective can be defined as a high-order level by which a set of rules prescribing the conditions for the production and reception of meanings in the media text is analysed (Hodge & Kress 1988:4). This view suggests that meaning is shaped and determined by society and by particular groups within that society—that is, how patterns of ideas, beliefs and conceptions about social reality (such as political beliefs, racial and ethnic attitudes) come into being and are disseminated and maintained. In relation to the recipient of messages, ideology from a social semiotic perspective is concerned with the recipient’s level of knowledge towards the disseminated messages (Hodge & Kress 1988).

Now that the concept of ideology from a social semiotic perspective has been defined, it is important to provide a brief historical background of the concept of ideology. Ideology was officially coined during the French Revolution of the 1790s by the Enlightenment aristocrat, Antoine-Louis-Claude Destutt de Tracy (1754-1836), to describe the “science of ideas”. The term was first used in public during 1796, and was then commonly read in

⁴⁴ Yatsunska’s (2005:345) study found that the “heroic” myth is used in political television commercials to make claims that a potential political party could eradicate poverty, corruption and the economic crises of Ukraine.

the newspaper instalments to the National Institute in Paris, under the title “*Mémoire sur la Faculté de Penser*”.⁴⁵ In its early use, ideology referred to a new science of ideas, the revolutionary aimed at the destruction of old social structures and traditional beliefs such as the feudal system and the monarchy (Bluhm 1974:10). De Tracy’s view of ideology changed in later years as he was influenced by Karl Marx’s (1818-1883) perspective of ideology. Marx’s work, *The German Ideology* (1970:58), written with Friedrich Engels, argues that ideology is a political term which therefore suggests the “ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling class”. By this they meant that the class which has the means of material and intellectual material has the power to control and rule the subordinate or the less powerful members of the society. Marx’s (1970) conceptualisation of the term “ideology” implies the following assumptions: Firstly, ideology creates and perpetuates a false view about the world or presents a “false consciousness” about the state of the world. That is, this only reflects the class interests of the privileged, rather than the interests of all the members of society. Secondly, ideology implicitly serves only the interests and the perspectives of society’s ruling class, and in so doing, they do not recognise their class as an oppressor. Thirdly, ideology is a manifestation of power by constituting the ruling ideas within the society.

In light of the above nature of ideology as a dimension of the social semiotic research framework, the next part of the discussion focuses on the work of Thompson (1990) and Haywood (1998/2003) who contributed to the dimension of ideology in the context of the social semiotic research framework.

The dimension of ideology, like the previous dimension of myth, is broad and cuts across a wide range of social sciences. The seminal authors, John Thompson (1990), a British culturalist and a sociologist scholar, and Andrew Haywood (1998/2003), a British political science scholar, neither of whom are social semiotics scholars, are thus applicable. Their work is significant to the current study in that, firstly, Thompson’s work provides this study with relevant strategies or techniques that can be used in the deconstruction of the underlying ideologies in verbal, non-verbal and visual rhetoric of the television text. Secondly, Haywood (1998/2003) provides this study with relevant

⁴⁵ French for “*The Philosophy of Language in Revolutionary France*”.

and key ideological concepts such as “liberalism”, “conservatism”, “nationalism”, “socialism” and “feminism” which can be used in the deconstruction of the underlying ideologies in verbal, non-verbal and visual rhetoric (cf. *Chapter Six* and *Chapter Seven*).

Thompson’s (1990:56) view of ideology as a study concerned with the “creation of the social meaning” and the “establishment of the domination of the social reality” is similar to that of Hodge and Kress (1988). Thompson (1990) defines ideology as a meaningful and symbolic phenomenon, which establishes and maintains the dominant social reality or “false consciousness”. Andrew Haywood (2003:12), however, views ideology as a coherent set of ideas that provides the basis for organised political, economic and social action in a society. By “coherent set of ideas”, Haywood (1998/2003) means that ideas can preserve, modify or overthrow the existing system in power. Hence Thompson’s (1990) and Haywood’s (1998/2003) views of ideology in this study are essential in that they view ideology as a social phenomenon. Given their specific interpretation of ideology as a social phenomenon, their work is significant to this study and to the use of social semiotics as a theory and method because social semiotics also focuses on the social aspect of semiotics.

In light of the above, in order to reveal the latent and manifest meaning of the ideological construct in the social semiotic environment, it is important to examine the following work of Thompson (1990) and Haywood (1998/2003). Firstly, Thompson (1990) provides this study with different strategies or techniques which can be used in the deconstruction of ideology in verbal, non-verbal and visual rhetoric. These are “legitimation”, “dissimulation”, “unification”, “fragmentation” and “reification”. Secondly, the latter sections of this chapter focus on the work of Andrew Haywood (1998/2003), which provides this study with different types of ideologies represented in verbal, non-verbal and visual rhetoric, namely “liberalism”, “conservatism”, “socialism”, “nationalism” and “feminism”, all of which are used in the analysis of the selected media texts (cf. *Chapter Six* and *Chapter Seven*). The next sections discuss Thompson (1990) and his strategies or techniques of ideologies, namely “legitimation”, “dissimulation”, “unification”, “fragmentation” and “reification”.

4.6.2.7.1 Thompson's first ideological strategy of "legitimation"

"Legitimation" is the first ideological technique used to deconstruct an established and dominant ideology expressed either covertly or overtly in media texts (Thompson 1990:61). Furthermore, with these techniques, Thompson (1990) makes use of symbolic modes such as "rationalisation", "universalisation" and "narrativisation", for the purposes of deconstructing media texts.

Briefly, the "symbolic" mode of the legitimisation technique is the rationalisation of the ideology. The high-order ideological meaning or an established and dominant ideology is justified in the verbal, non-verbal and visual rhetoric of the media text such as political television commercials. The high-order ideological meaning or the dominant ideology is claimed to be universal and represents the interests of everyone in a society and is represented in the verbal, non-verbal and visual rhetoric. Media texts such as election campaign television commercials construct narrative stories through verbal, visual and non-verbal rhetoric that represents, for instance, the progress made by a specific political party or the historical challenges faced by a particular society and how the challenges were resolved (Thompson 1990:62).

4.6.2.7.2 Thompson's second ideological strategy of "dissimulation"

"Dissimulation" is the second technique used in the deconstruction of the ideological meaning in media texts such as political television commercials through verbal, non-verbal and visual rhetoric. According to Thompson (1990:62), dissimulation can be described as an ideological strategy that uses concealed, subtle and obscured visual and verbal rhetoric with the intention of deflecting attention from the existing discourse. For example, this could be a political party that blames its incompetency on poor governance and the failing economy on the historical past of colonialism or apartheid systems. Thus, dissimulation ideological strategy can be expressed in symbolic forms such as displacement, euphemism and metaphors in political television advertisements.

4.6.2.7.3 Thompson's third ideological strategy of "fragmentation"

According to Thompson (1990:65), "fragmentation" involves the differentiation, distinctions, and divisions in a society and groups that characterises disunity. A "fragmented" ideological mode not only unifies individuals in a collective, but also differentiates those individuals and groups in the society. Hence fragmentation as an ideological technique is represented through the verbal, non-verbal and visual rhetoric of the "us" and "them", as well as the "otherness" in political television commercials.

4.6.2.7.4 Thompson's fourth ideological strategy of "unification"

By "unification" ideology strategy, Thompson (1990:64) suggests the collective identification which is diffused throughout society. The verbal, non-verbal and visual rhetoric expresses the ideological strategy of unification through symbols of national unity such as flags and national emblems, while the verbal rhetoric employs the strategy of unification ideology to represent national anthems, shared national history and collective effort towards the national future.

4.6.2.7.5 Thompson's fifth ideological strategy of "reification"

"Reification" (Thompson 1990:65) is used in media text to represent particular relations of domination in a society that are the product of changing history and that are not permanent. Through the reification technique, the underlying ideological meaning is represented as natural and permanent, and to some extent eternal.

The foregoing discussion unpacked the seminal work of Thompson's (1990) ideological strategies or techniques which are significant to the current study, especially in chapters six and seven.

The identified ideological strategies of Thompson (1990), namely "legitimisation", "dissimulation", "fragmentation", "unification" and "reification" are revisited in chapters six and seven, where Thompson's (1990) ideological strategies are used in the deconstruction of the underlying ideological meaning represented in the verbal, non-verbal and visual rhetoric of media text.

The above sections of this chapter focused largely on the theoretical approach of ideology. The next section discusses the previous studies of Thompson's (1990) ideological strategies which are relevant to the current study, and first looks at the work of Angelos Kissas (2013).

4.6.2.7.6 Kissas' 2012 study: making use of Thompson's ideological strategies

In a master's dissertation entitled *Mediated Politics and Ideology: Towards a New Synthesis: A Case Study from the Greek General Elections of May 2012*, written by Angelos Kissas (2013), Thompson's ideological strategies are studied and applied. In her qualitative content analysis study of the political television commercials used during the 2012 Greek general election campaign commercials, she found that both the visual and verbal rhetoric used Thompson's (1990) ideological strategies of legitimisation, dissimulation, unification and reification. Kissas (2013:22) found that the PASOK political party of Greece, in its political television commercials, used the legitimisation ideological technique of narrativisation which was represented through the use of both verbal and visual rhetoric. These techniques were represented through verbal narratives of the Greek historical expression of national pride in the Olympics, on the one hand, and the narrativisation of ideological strategy was represented through the visual rhetoric of historical monuments such as the Acropolis, on the other. Kissas (2013:23) also found that Thompson's dissimulation ideological strategy was used to express ideology through the verbal and visual aspects of the political television commercials to compare one individual with another individual or to compare one object with another. Using Thompson's (1990) concept of fragmentation, Kissas (2013:24) found that the PASOK political party in Greece, used verbal rhetoric such as "we", to differentiate the PASOK political party from the opposition party, the New Democracy. PASOK also used this fragmentation strategy to downplay the opposition political party's policies as "irresponsible", "partisan selfishness" and "unfeasible proposals".

Kissas (2013:28) also found that PASOK's political television commercials used Thompson's (1990) strategy of unification to express the ideology of unification, by using words and concepts to convey "unity"; and visual images of large crowds

surrounding the political candidates in political television commercials. Having discussed Thompson's different ideological strategies and the application thereof in the previous study of Kissas (2013), the next section focuses on the work of Andrew Haywood (1998/2003). He identifies different types of ideologies such as conservatism, liberalism, nationalism, socialism, liberalism and socialist feminism, all of which are significant to the current study. These ideologies are significant here because they deconstruct the social meaning of the media text under scrutiny by revealing the underlying ideological meaning of the verbal, non-verbal and visual rhetoric used in the media text such as political television commercials.

An example of such a deconstruction is found in Letitia Rohanlall's (2014) master's dissertation entitled *Party Ideology in South Africa*. She uses Haywood's (1998/2003) different ideologies to identify underlying ideologies in the 2009 and 2014 general election campaign manifestos. Her findings reveal how different South African political parties such as the A.N.C., D.A., C.O.P.E., E.F.F., and I.F.P., to mention but a few, express the ideologies of "liberalism", "conservatism", "nationalism", "socialism", "liberal feminism" and "socialist feminism" through verbal, non-verbal and visual rhetoric, as shown in the 2009 and 2014 general election manifesto campaign commercials.

The next section of this chapter discusses Haywood's (1998/2003) different types of ideologies, which are "liberalism", "conservatism", "nationalism", "socialism", "liberal" and "socialist feminism".

4.6.2.7.7 Haywood's ideology of "liberalism"

Liberalism is a dominant ideology of the industrialised Western societies. The ideology of liberalism has been in use since the 14th century to mean a class of free men. According to Haywood (2003:25-26), contemporary liberalism is increasingly associated with freedom of choice and the respect of individual rights, and it is also a theory that favours freedom and opposes authoritarianism. Furthermore, Haywood (2003:47) divides liberalism into two parts, namely classical liberalism and modern liberalism. The former was developed during the transition from the age of feudalism in the 15th century to the age of industrial capitalism of the 19th century. This classical liberalism is based on the premise of individual freedom, a belief in private property ownership, capital

investment, and entrepreneurship and business ventures. However, it is averse to any social welfare system. Modern liberalism is described as “20th-century liberalism” which is in favour of development, industrialisation and the creation of wealth (Haywood 2003:57). It differs from classical liberalism in that it favours increased government interventions for the poor through social welfare programmes.

4.6.2.7.8 Haywood’s ideology of “conservatism”

Conservatism arose in reaction to the French Revolution of 1789 and the process of modernisation in the West through industrialisation. It therefore developed through resistance to change and the preservation of the traditional ways of life. It is defined as the preservation of identity, organic society, hierarchy and authority, tradition and human imperfection, which have been handed down from one generation to the next (Haywood 2003:68). The ideology of conservatism can thus be seen as being concerned with the preservation of its traditional values such as religion, family and organic society which generate a sense of identity and belonging. By organic society, conservatives believe that society is a living organism that exists outside individuals, and is held together by traditions, cultures, authority and common understanding. Furthermore, conservatives believe that the key to a progressive society is hierarchy and authority, and, as a result, gender and socio-economic inequalities are inevitable features of a society (Haywood 1998/2003).

4.6.2.7.9 Haywood’s ideology of “nationalism”

The term “nationalism” was first used in French print newspapers in 1789, by the anti-Jacobin French priest, Augustin Barruel, during the French Revolution. The concept of nationalism in origin is linked to modernisation and industrialisation societies. Pre-modern societies were structured by a network of feudalism and patronage based on cultural cohesion such as ethnic and language identities. The emergence of industrial societies promoted social mobility, competition and self-determination, which promoted a cultural cohesion, which was a precursor to nationalism. Nationalism is regarded as an ideology that puts the nation as the central pillar that fosters the cohesion of society, bound together by a particular set of governing principles that give rise to socio-cultural

meanings, social relations and political structures belonging to a political organisation or national government institution which promotes, for example, the values of self-government (Haywood 2003:155). This set of principles involves for instance, common citizenship, group identity, which is based on shared political and cultural assumptions such as ethnicity, history, geographic space, language, religion, race and ethnicity, and common political identity within a particular space of national boundaries. In addition, Haywood identifies two different types of nationalism, cultural and political nationalism (2003:167). According to Haywood (2003:167), cultural nationalism is the ideological premise that emphasises national self-affirmation by which people acquire a clearer sense of identity by heightening national pride and self-respect. The second type of nationalism, namely political nationalism, is based on the premise of civic loyalty and political allegiance rather than on cultural identity (Haywood 2003:168). Key to political nationalism is a call for national cohesion based primarily on shared citizenship, regardless of cultural, ethnic and other loyalties.

4.6.2.7.10 Haywood's ideology of "socialism"

The ideology of socialism, like conservatism, liberalism and nationalism, originated in the 19th century as a result of the growing class of industrial workers in Europe who suffered from poverty, economic inequality and marginalisation largely caused by increased industrial capitalism. Karl Marx contributed to establishing the definition of socialism, and it can thus be defined as an ideological construct which envisages a socio-economic system in which the ownership of industries and the distribution of wealth are determined by the state (Haywood 2003:105) and not individual capitalists. Central to this ideology is the belief that the redistribution of wealth can be achieved through government intervention, capitalist wealth creation, welfare-state programmes and the common cause of all people (Haywood 2003). Socialism, unlike liberalism and conservatism, emphasises the significance of community, cooperation, social equality and common ownership as opposed to the significance of individual achievement. Socialism regards the importance of social equality as essential in that it fosters social cohesion, justice and equality in specific societies (Haywood 2003:113).

4.6.2.7.11 Haywood's ideology of feminism

Feminism effectively began in 1848 at Seneca Falls in the U.S. when American women demanded the right to vote in presidential elections. Feminism is both a movement and an ideology for socio-political change based on the critical analysis of male privileges versus women's subordination. The current study, however, focuses on feminism as an ideological construct rather than the women's movement/s per se (such as Second Wave or Third Wave feminist movements). As such, feminism can be defined as a gender issue, which is concerned with the social construction of women based on their personal autonomy, freedom and social organisation (Haywood 2003:241). The ideological construct of feminism emerged out of the established ideologies of liberalism and socialism. According to Haywood (2003:252), liberal feminist ideology is based on the principle of individualism, that is, the belief that an individual woman is important and therefore all women deserve equal treatment in society. The socialist feminist ideology is based on the principle of women's emancipation, and being afforded a broader range of social and economic opportunities, rather than merely being paid for fulfilling their traditional social roles as housewives and sex objects (Haywood 2003:255).

In concluding this section, Haywood's (1998/2003) different types of ideological constructs, namely: "liberalism", "conservatism", "nationalism", "socialism", "liberal" and "socialist feminism" were discussed and are used to analyse the media texts under scrutiny in *Chapters Six and Seven*.

Thus far, this chapter pointed out that social semiotics can be studied from a theoretical framework (*Section A*) and research methodological framework (*Section B*). The last section of this chapter provides a brief discussion of the limitations of social semiotics as both a theoretical approach and a methodological framework.

4.7 LIMITATIONS OF SOCIAL SEMIOTICS AS A THEORETICAL PARADIGM AND A RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

There are several scholars who are critical of the social semiotic theoretical paradigm and research methodological framework. Klaus Bruhn Jensen (1995), for example, expressed concern that social semiotics relates only to the creation of meaning and therefore neglects media text audiences as cultural agents. Similarly, Rick Iedema (2001) expressed concern that social semiotics is only involved in the visual and verbal structures of the media text and is therefore not concerned with the categories of audiences and their reading of both the visual and verbal text. While these are significant criticisms, they are not relevant to this study as the focus is not on media texts as cultural agents or on audiences. It is a purely theoretical qualitative study. Kress and Van Leeuwen's (1996) took issue with social semiotics in assuming that texts can produce the exact meaning and effects that the authors intended towards audiences. However, Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996) propose that these uncertain outcomes of social semiotics should be studied at the level of social action and their effects in the production of meaning.

To counter the above limitations of the social semiotics approach, future studies need to investigate the aspect of audiences specifically with regards to South African political advertisements (audience reception studies).

To sum up this chapter, social semiotics as a theoretical paradigm focusses on the creation of social meaning (within texts and society); links social semiotic “signs” or “resources” as represented in texts, to contexts/socio-cultural environment; and, argues that all “resources” represent an ideology/ies. Social semiotics as a research method is directly linked to the theoretical paradigm: it provides the interpreter, or researcher, the “tools” or dimensions with which to deconstruct these “resources” found within the texts under analysis. Thus, enabling the researcher to make connections to the (unique) environments in which each text is produced.

In conclusion, this chapter was divided into two sections. *Section A* laid the foundation for the theoretical framework of this study—that is, the chapter provided a brief discussion on the nature of traditional semiotics and semiology as foundational, and referential works for social semiotics (cf. Peirce 1992/1998; Barthes 1967; Hall 2013; and Lévi-Strauss 1952/1962). *Section A* also focused on the nature of social semiotics as a theory (cf. Valentin Voloshinov (1973); Michael Halliday (1978); Robert Hodge (2005); Gunther Kress (1996); and Theo van Leeuwen (1996)).

Section B, on the hand, examined social semiotics as a research methodology. As such it included the work of Gunther Kress and Theo van Leeuwen. *Section B* pointed out that social semiotics is a research paradigm which, in normal circumstances, would only be discussed in the research methodology chapter of a study (cf. *Chapter Five: Research Methodology*). This chapter also discussed the social semiotic research paradigm as part of the literature review because social semiotics is a relatively “new” research methodological framework of critical analysis, and the social semiotic “tools” or dimensions, needed to be researched and explicated in some depth. This chapter also reference the previous studies of Carey Jewitt, Rumiko Oyama, and Rick Iedema, who have used social semiotics as a research design in interpreting the meaning of representations found within certain media texts.

This also concludes the three-part literature review. *Part I* provides a discussion of the two important postcolonial perspectives, namely Afrocentrism and Eurocentrism. The second literature review, *Part II* discussed the nature of verbal; visual; and, non-verbal rhetoric. The significance of rhetoric in this specific study is concerned with the creation of meaning within political television advertisements. Lastly, the third literature review, *Part III* was focussed almost entirely on social semiotics (as a research method and a theoretical framework).

The next chapter outlines the research methodology.

CHAPTER FIVE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The main purpose of this chapter is to explain the methodological procedure used in this study. Since the study is an interpretative, qualitative content analysis, it uses social semiotics as a research framework in examining the three A.N.C. political television commercials. This chapter also outlines the problem statement and the research goals and objectives of the study. It thus demarcates the population; the sampling procedure; and, the unit of analysis; with regards to the (three) sampled A.N.C. advertisements.

5.2 MAIN RESEARCH PROBLEM STATEMENT

The purpose of this study was to examine and compare by means of a social semiotic research methodology (qualitative content analysis), the distinctive differences between the underlying latent and manifest meanings; ideology; and, rhetorical (non-verbal, verbal and visual rhetorical) messages of the two 2009 and the one 2014 A.N.C. advertisements.

5.3 GOALS AND OBJECTIVES

The qualitative content analysis for the selected 2009 and 2014 A.N.C. national election commercial campaigns has the goals and objectives as set out below.

5.3.1 Goals of the study

The central goals of this study are as follows:

- Firstly, to analyse and compare the two selected 2009 commercials and the one *2014 A.N.C. Commercial* national election campaign television commercials.
- Secondly, to analyse the latent and manifest meaning and deconstruct the underlying latent and manifest ideological meaning of the verbal, non-verbal and verbal rhetoric in the sampled television political commercials with the use of social semiotics

- Thirdly, through the methodological social semiotic framework, to analyse whether or not the latent meanings of the sampled advertisements are intrinsically Afrocentric or Eurocentric (or a combination of both).

In *Chapter Two: Literature Review (PART I): Afrocentrism and Eurocentric / Western-centric Theory* of this study, the Afrocentric perspective was described as a postcolonial perspective concerned with the significance of African rhetoric in the overall context of communication (Asante 2002). The Eurocentric perspective is the opposite of the Afrocentric perspective in that the approach emphasises the significance of European civilisation, concerns, cultures and values, which are at the centre of the universe. In short, the Eurocentric perspective positions Europe as an exclusive, unique, superior and a global political project which legitimises her cultural expansion to other parts of the world (Amin 1988). The decision to conduct comparative analyses of the A.N.C. television political commercials was motivated by the political communication developments in South Africa's post-apartheid democracy as discussed below.

Since the abolition of the apartheid in 1993 by the then South African president Mr F.W. de Klerk, South Africa has had five national elections, with the first national election being in 1994, followed by the 1999, 2004, 2009 and the 2014 elections, respectively. From 1994 to 2004, political advertising in South Africa was largely in print media such as newspapers and posters, and broadcasting radio was used to air the political commercials of different political parties.

Several qualitative and quantitative content analysis studies have been conducted on South African political campaign commercials predominantly on print media during the national and local elections. For instance, in the 1994 national elections, a South African cultural and media scholar, Ruth Teer-Tomasalli (2005), conducted a semiotic qualitative content analysis of the A.N.C., N.P., and the D.P.,⁴⁶ and their political advertisements from a sample of twenty-one newspapers. In the same general elections of 1994, another South African scholar, Eva Bertelsen (1994), conducted a qualitative content analysis study entitled *Selling Change: Advertisements for the 1994 South*

⁴⁶ The Democratic Party is currently (2016) known as the Democratic Alliance.

African Elections. The study analysed different national newspaper advertisements of the following political parties, the A.N.C., N.P., D.P., I.F.P., and F.F.P. In her study, Bertelsen (1994) analysed both the visual and verbal rhetoric used in print advertisements of different political parties. Lynnette Fourie (2013) also conducted a qualitative content analysis entitled *Political Radio and Television Advertisements in a Young Democracy: The 2009 South African National Election Campaign* in which she surveyed the 2009 political radio commercials of the A.N.C., D.A., and F.F.P.

The significance of this study is that political television advertising is a new phenomenon in South Africa, and as such remains an understudied and under-theorised area of political communication.

The next section discusses the main objectives of the study.

5.3.2 Objectives of the study

The objectives of this study are descriptive; exploratory; interpretive; and, comparative in nature. The objective of this study is descriptive, which, according to Earl E. Babbie and Johann Mouton (2012:271-272), is significant as it provides an in-depth description and understanding of the phenomenon, or cultural text, in question (this descriptive analysis takes place in *Chapter Six*). Exploratory objectives provide a researcher with insight into, and comprehension of, new (communication) phenomenon (Babbie & Mouton 2012:80; Bryman 2012:50). This is done through exploring unknown areas of research that can be based on a number of identified problems (cf. Babbie & Mouton 2012:80; Bryman 2012:50). In this case, the study is exploratory given that political television advertisements are a new (circa 2009) phenomenon in South Africa.

The objective of this study is also interpretative. Understanding interpretivism involves the acknowledgement that people create and associate their own subjective meanings as they interact with the world around them. Thus, researchers must understand the socially constructed world around them and must acknowledge that their own worldviews and values cannot be divorced from the research process. In other words, interpretative research is subjective, as the “research tool” is the researcher him/her self

(Bryman 2012:712). Complete neutrality and objectivity are impossible to achieve. This is one of the limitations of interpretivism. In-order-to overcome this, the researcher must be self-reflective and acknowledge that he/she cannot be divorced from the phenomenon under study (cf. Bryman 2012; Krippendorff 2004). The researcher, in this study, has had to acknowledge and accept that his interpretive findings might be biased, as they are subjective in nature. The researcher has also made use of social semiotics as it takes “social reality” (discourse) into account; therefore, the researcher does not study the media texts in a vacuum (cf. *Chapter Four*, *Chapter Six*; and *Chapter Seven*).

The last objective of this specific study is that of a comparative content analysis. Within a qualitative research design, a comparative objective involves comparing two of more contrasting or different situations (Bryman 2012:72; Walliman 2011:11).⁴⁷ In this specific context, the study sought to compare whether there are similarities and/or differences between the 2009 and 2014 A.N.C. election campaign television advertisements in terms of rhetoric (verbal, non-verbal and visual) and cultural and ideological meanings.

The following emphasises the main objectives of the study, namely to:

- Describe the sampled television political commercials (2009 and 2014) in a narrative form, based on the researcher’s observations of the different use of verbal, non- verbal and visual rhetoric; as well as the representation of Afrocentric and/or Eurocentric postcolonial perspectives in these political advertisements.
- Describe the sampled television political commercials (2009 and 2014) in a chronological narrative form, based on the researcher’s observations of the different use of camera techniques, and music.
- Identify the latent and manifest meaning of the visual, verbal and non-verbal rhetoric of the selected A.N.C. political television commercials through the use of the

⁴⁷ Comparative studies are generally conducted, for example, in historical studies, where a researcher compares people’s experiences between different times—that is, the past and present, in cross-cultural studies and international studies such as comparing different countries (Bryman 2012:74). In the context of political communication, the first comparative historical study, which was conducted in Britain between 1957 and 1964, analysed the print political commercials in British national elections (Holtz-Bacha 2004:469). In the context of the international comparative analysis of political television commercials between two different countries, the U.S. and France were compared in 1988 since the presidential elections in the two countries occurred in the same year of 1988 (Kaid & Gognere 2006:86).

different dimensions of the social semiotic approach, which are discourse, representation, modality, genre, narrative, myth and ideology.

- Explore their inherent meanings.
- Deconstruct the underlying latent and manifest ideologies of the visual, verbal and non-verbal rhetoric of the political television commercials through the social semiotic approach.
- Identify whether the latent and manifest meanings of the visual, verbal and non-verbal rhetoric of the sampled A.N.C. political television commercials represent the Afrocentric and/or the Eurocentric postcolonial perspectives.
- Compare whether there are similarities and/or differences between the 2009 and the one 2014 A.N.C. election campaign television commercials.

The next section focuses on the main research question of the study, the sub-problems and the assumptions of the study.

5.3.2 Main research question

The main research question is as follows: What are the underlying latent and manifest meanings, ideologies, and rhetoric (non-verbal, verbal and visual) of the selected 2009 and the 2014 A.N.C. political television political advertisements?

5.4. THE SUB-PROBLEMS OF THIS STUDY

The sub-problems of this study are as follows:

- What are the distinctive latent meanings of the verbal, non-verbal and visual rhetoric of the 2009 A.N.C. political television advertisements?
- What are the distinctive manifest meanings of the verbal, non-verbal and visual rhetoric of the 2009 A.N.C. political television advertisements?
- What are the distinctive latent meanings of the verbal, non-verbal and visual rhetoric of the 2014 A.N.C. television election campaign commercial?

- What are the distinctive manifest meanings of the verbal, non-verbal and visual rhetoric of the 2014 A.N.C. television election campaign commercial?
- Under which ideological, philosophical, socio-economic and political context were the 2009 A.N.C. election commercials produced?
- Under which ideological, philosophical, socio-economic and political context was the 2014 A.N.C. election commercial produced?
- What does the outcome of the comparative analysis of the 2009 and 2014 election television commercials reveal?

Now that the sub-problems of this study have been identified, the next section outlines the underlying assumptions of this research study.

5.5 THE MAIN ASSUMPTIONS OF THIS STUDY

The assumptions of this research are as follows, the:

- non-verbal, verbal and visual rhetoric of the 2009 A.N.C. political television advertisements contains the latent meaning of the Afrocentric worldview, socialist and liberal ideologies, and heroic myths
- non-verbal, verbal and visual rhetoric of the 2009 A.N.C. political television advertisements contains the manifest meaning of the Afrocentric worldview, socialist and liberal ideologies, and heroic myths
- non-verbal, verbal and visual rhetoric of the 2014 A.N.C. political television advertisement contains a latent Eurocentric worldview and capitalist ideology
- non-verbal, verbal and visual rhetoric of the 2014 A.N.C. political television advertisement contains a manifest Eurocentric worldview and liberal capitalist ideology
- outcome of the comparative analysis reveals that the non-verbal, verbal and visual rhetoric of the 2009 and 2014 A.N.C. political television advertisements shares similarities, differences and contradictions in terms of the underlying

meanings, ideologies and philosophical perspectives of the Afrocentric and/or Eurocentric postcolonial perspectives

In the next section, the social semiotic research method (and the tools that it provides) are used, through deconstruction and explication, to either prove or disprove these main assumptions.

5.6 CONTENT ANALYSIS

According to Harwood and Garry (2003:485), content analysis was first used as a research method for analysing hymns, newspapers and magazine articles, advertisements and political speeches in the 19th century. Today, qualitative content analysis is a significant tool made use of in communication, journalism, sociology, psychology and business (Neundorf 2002:39). It is often used interchangeably with thematic content analysis or textual content analysis.

The next section discusses the nature of qualitative content analysis as a research method.

5.6.1 The nature of qualitative content analysis

Klaus Krippendorff (2004:18) views content analysis as a research technique concerned with making replicable and valid inferences from texts to the context of their use. By “replicable” Krippendorff (2004) suggests that the same research technique when applied to the same text should be reliable, and even when it is used in different times and in different contexts it should produce the same results. With regards to “validity” he suggests that the research effort is open to scrutiny. The definition of “text” suggests not only written text, but also a whole range of text material such as non-verbal and visual images. Krippendorff (2004) acknowledges the significance of the underlying meaning of texts. He maintains that texts cannot be treated as arbitrary—rather they naturally have an inherent meaning to the reader/viewer and as such the meaning of the text

should be studied.⁴⁸ This supports the analysis of political advertisements, where the inherent meanings of the texts are to be explicated and understood.

Qualitative content analysis can be used instead of quantitative content analysis, or together (mixed-methods), depending on the research problem. John Creswell (1994:1) differentiates between the two research design paradigms. He defines qualitative research as a research process concerned with the understanding of a social or human problem based on a “holistic picture, formed with words, reporting detailed views of informants and conducted in a natural setting” (Cresswell 1994:1). In other words, it is concerned with the analysis, and the interpretation, of the nature of human behaviour, such as values, speech, words and images, rather than quantification. Quantitative research focusses on numbers (quantity) and the analysis uses statistical procedures (Bryman 2012:715). However, both research methodology, qualitative and quantitative, are relevant to content analysis.

Alexandra George (1959:7-32) defines as the process of making “inferences on the basis of appearance or non-appearance of attributes in messages”. What this means is that the data derived from content analysis are primarily symbolic in nature, concerned with the investigation of inferences (“Who? Says what? To whom? Through which channel? And with what effect?”). Qualitative content analysis therefore involves examining the underlying connotative and denotative communication messages found in the verbal and visual messages of the media text.

⁴⁸ This is in direct contrast to quantitative content analysis. For instance, Canadian political scientist, Ole Holsti (1969:2), in his seminal work, *Content Analysis for the Social Sciences and Humanities*, defines content analysis as a research technique used for making inferences by systematically and objectively identifying specified characteristics within a text. Holsti's (1969) view of content analysis suggests that the analysis involves setting up a specific set of rules which serves as a criterion for the selection of data that must be collected. Holsti's (1969) definition also suggests that the content analysis of variables should be objective and systematic in nature. The view that content analysis is objective and systematic suggests the quantitative approach of content analysis. However, the classical work of Claire Selltitz, Marie Jahoda, Morton Deutsch and Stuart Cook (1967:59) expressed concern over the emphasis of quantitative content analysis of media texts because such analysis excludes other significant elements of communication, such as the aspect of meaning.

In qualitative content analysis, the researcher explores, describes and infers the characteristics of visual and verbal text messages such as books, magazines, television, film, speech and internet webpages (Bryman 2012:291; Babbie & Mouton 2012:492). Within the qualitative content analysis paradigm there are different interpretative methods, such as discourse analysis; narrative analysis; semiotics; social semiotics; and, genre analysis. These methods are used to interpret the media text in art; film; advertisements; television; and magazines.

Political television advertising has been studied for years in the U.S. (and other countries) with a specific focus on presidential candidates, and their commercials and not especially, negative advertisements (Kaid & Holtz-Bacha 1995:5; McNair 2011). The U.S. has a presidential electoral system and South Africa has a parliamentary electoral system; both the presidential and parliamentary systems in the U.S.A and South Africa are multiparty systems with the representation of political parties in all spheres of government, which seeks to entrench democracy and foster social cohesion among South Africans of different political affiliations. Therefore, direct comparisons to U.S. politics and the analysis of their advertisements is not straightforward. As pointed out in *Chapter One: Introduction and Background*, negative political advertising is prohibited in South Africa by the government regulatory body, I.C.A.S.A. The prohibition of negative political advertising in South Africa stems from the concern that negative political commercials could be misleading to the public, encourages public cynicism and do not contribute towards national cohesion in a multi-racial and multi-party society and could possibly degrade the significance of democracy in South Africa (Sindane 2010). Hence the key to South Africa's national political parties' election campaigns, involves political parties contesting for national elections and focuses on positive political advertising, which seeks to position the image of a political party and political issues among the electorate.

Since political advertising only became official in October 2008, previous studies on the topic of political advertising in South Africa focused largely on print media, posters, the use of a combination of qualitative and quantitative content analysis research designs, with no consideration of the social semiotic research methodology of content analysis (cf. Bauer, Biquelet & Suerdem 2014:47; Du Preez 1988; Fourie & Froneman 2003;

Sindane 2010; Tomaselli & Louw 1991; Teer-Tomaselli 2006).

Considering the above, a qualitative content (textual or thematic) analysis is an ideal research design for this specific study for two main reasons: firstly, social semiotics includes context as a significant part of the research. Secondly, it takes into consideration the researcher's bias and subjectivity. The latter is overcome through the researcher's own self-reflexivity; and through the use of literature reviews, which gave the researcher his thematic "codes", such as Afrocentrism, and the many different types of rhetoric.

However, qualitative content analysis as a research methodology, like any other research methodology, has its own limitations.

5.6.2 Advantages and limitations of qualitative content analysis

Webb, Campbell, Schwartz, Sechrest and Grove (1981:35) outline some of the advantages and disadvantages of the content analysis research methodology. In the current study, the main advantage to the use of qualitative content analysis is that the methodology is un-obstructive in nature and cost effective—that is, the material used for conducting content analysis is easily and inexpensively accessible (cf. Webb, Campbell, Schwartz, Sechrest and Grove 1981:35). The sampled political television commercials are free and easily available on the internet (cf. the A.N.C.'s webpage, *MyANC* downloads; and the *YouTube* channel webpage). Furthermore, qualitative content analysis provides meaning when the research processes occur over a long period of time, which will then, for the most part, reflect cultural; economic; political; and, social trends in society.

There are however, limitations to qualitative content analysis. According to Webb *et al.* (1981:38) one of the limitations of content analysis is the examination of already recorded messages which are oral; written; graphical; and, video messages. Another limitation is that the method is ineffective for testing causal relationships between the mediated text and the audience such as the effect of the text on the audience. However, this is not a limitation of this study as it does not focus on, or research, the role of audiences (it is not an effects study; impact study; or, audience reception study). As already mentioned, another limitation of qualitative content analysis (interpretivism, in

particular) refers to the subjectivity of the researcher, and the researcher's own bias is often unavoidable (Bryman 2012). Because such subjectivity is almost devoid in quantitative studies, quantitative research has often been elevated above that of qualitative research.

The next section of this chapter explores the nature of social semiotics as an interpretative method in qualitative content analysis.

5.6.3 Social semiotics as an interpretative research method in qualitative content analysis

In *Chapter Four: Literature Review (PART III): Social Semiotics*, Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996), explain in depth how social semiotics can also be seen as a category of qualitative research methodology, which makes use of discourse analysis. Discourse analysis specialises in the deconstruction of the structures of media text (for instance, political television advertisements). In order to achieve this specific goal, Jane Stokes (2012:65) in her book, *How to do Media and Cultural Studies?*, also proposes that qualitative content analysis can be used with other interpretative (or hermeneutic) research methods such as social semiotics. Social semiotics, as pointed out earlier (cf. *Chapter Four*), is significant to the current study in that, provides the study with interpretive “tools”, such as representation; modality; genre; narrative; myth; and ideology in-order-to analyse both the latent and manifest meanings of the selected A.N.C. political television commercials. Carey Jewitt and Rumiko Oyama (2004:134) further argue that these social semiotic “tools” are significant in that they deconstruct the structure of media texts (both latent and manifest meaning). Jewitt and Oyama (2004:187) also maintain that, different from the set of rules of codes and signs in structural semiotics, social semiotics is concerned with highlighting the importance of the social context *under* which the media text is produced, as well as how the text itself creates meaning *within* the framework (or content) of the media text.

5.7 MOTIVATION FOR THE SELECTION OF THE TOPIC

There are several main reasons for the selection of this topic. Firstly, as indicated in *Chapter One* of the study, political television advertisements became a new phenomenon in South Africa after 2008. The different political parties in South Africa such as the A.N.C., D.A., C.O.P.E, and the E.F.F., used television for electioneering campaigns in both the 2009 and 2014 national elections. Secondly, the study specifically focuses on the A.N.C.'s political television commercials for different reasons. The 2009 A.N.C. television political campaign used four political television commercials, which were based on a number of important policy issues such as education, rural development, empowerment of women, youth development and micro and medium enterprises in underdeveloped South African communities. The policies are thus key to both the A.N.C. and South African society at large. Another significant reason for the selection of the 2009 A.N.C. television election campaign commercials, is that they are positive and contribute towards national cohesion and entrench democracy among South Africans at grass roots. Thirdly, the use of social semiotics as a theoretical and methodological analysis makes the study the first of its kind in South Africa, given that previous studies (cf. Fourie 2008; Sindane 2010) of political advertising focused specifically on quantitative analysis. Fourthly, political communication studies have largely focused on the traditional semiotic approach, as opposed to social semiotics, and as such, little or nothing has been done in social semiotics, particularly in the context of political television commercials.

In contrast to the A.N.C. political television commercials, opposition parties such as the D.A., produced negative political television commercials. They highlighted the negative state of South African affairs such as crime, poverty, unemployment and underdevelopment in South African society. Also, some of the still images (screen shots) used by the D.A. did not represent the South African neighbourhood landscape—instead, the images depicted neighbourhoods similar to those in the U.S., with broad streets, avenues full of maple trees, long stretches of lawn from main houses to the sidewalk and streets without the electrified high walls common in many South African

major town and city neighbourhoods. Other opposition parties such as C.O.P.E. used political television commercials of lower budget such as a medium longshot of a stationary camera depicting the leader of the political party and its logo narrating party promises.

In the 2014 national elections, the A.N.C. released one television election campaign commercial. The reason for the selection of the *2014 A.N.C. Commercial* is that it featured the government's National Development Plan for 2030, which is extremely important to the economic development of South Africa. It also provided a point of comparison to the 2009 A.N.C. advertisements. In 2014, the main opposition party, the D.A. produced negative political television commercials. These advertisements were negative, and critical, of the A.N.C., which is in contravention of I.C.A.S.A. election broadcasting regulations.

The next section briefly provides a discussion of the reliability of the study.

5.8 RELIABILITY OF THE STUDY

Reliability can be described as an instrument concerned with measuring how stable and consistent a study is and whether it would produce the same measurement or answers over a period of time (Babbie & Mouton 2012:119). Reliability in qualitative content analysis maximises the consistency; trustworthiness; and, credibility of the procedures followed in a study. This in turn enhances the accuracy of the interpretation of the data and confidence in the findings. Hence David Hesmandhalgh (2006:53) argues that, reliability in the context of qualitative content analysis should be limited only to the manifest codes of the political commercial text, as they provide the reader with universal and clear meanings. In contrast to the manifest codes, Hesmandhalgh (2006) contends that the latent codes are concealed; complex; subtle; subjective; and the meaning might not be obvious to the reader of the political text.

In this study, therefore, reliability focuses on the manifest codes of the political television commercials of the A.N.C. In *Chapter Two: Literature Review (Part I): Afrocentricism and Eurocentric / Western-centric Theory* of this study, the identified manifest codes are

the representation of the Afrocentric and Eurocentric postcolonial perspectives in media text such as political television commercials. *Chapter Three: Literature Review (Part II): Political Advertising and Rhetoric* of this study touched on the representation of the non-verbal, verbal and visual rhetoric in political television commercials. Hence the identified obvious meaning represented by rhetoric in the political television commercials maximises reliability of the study.

The next section provides a brief discussion deductive and inductive research.

5.9 DEDUCTIVE AND INDUCTIVE APPROACHES TO QUALITATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS

This study makes use of deductive reasoning. The deductive approach to qualitative content analysis looks at studying a phenomenon from a general theoretical standpoint to the more specific findings of data (Wagner, Kawulich & Garner 2012:229). In other words, a researcher using the deductive approach begins with specific theoretical assumptions and moves to the more general conclusions based on the theoretical premise. With regards to inductive reasoning, it is seen as an “inside-outside” approach, which involves analysing data from the general data observation to the specific theoretical assumptions (Wagner *et al.* 2012:229). That is, inductive content analysis involves the process by which the researcher observes the raw data from the development and identification of theoretical assumptions. Thus, inductive content analysis for qualitative research is not appropriate for this specific study. This study is therefore deductive, in that it began with certain theoretical assumptions, such as, the 2009 A.N.C. television advertisements are Afrocentric in nature. It also made use of the literature review to provide a theoretical approach and to provide it with thematic “codes”.

5.10 DATA COLLECTION METHODS AND TECHNIQUES

Data collection for this study involved the analysis of primary data which, according to Bryman (2012:14), includes first-hand accounts of events, or sources such as eyewitness accounts; unrecorded and unedited political speeches; documentaries; and,

political television advertisements. The three A.N.C. political television advertisements used during 2009 and the 2014 South African national election campaign are therefore primary data.

During the 2009 national election campaign, the A.N.C. used four television election campaign commercials, of which the following two were sampled for the purposes of this study. They are entitled *My Vote* and *The Woman Next Door*. In the 2014 national election campaign, the A.N.C. used only *one* television election campaign commercial. Thus, this study used the political television commercial entitled *2014 A.N.C. Television Election Campaign* commercial (henceforth, *2014 A.N.C. Commercial*).

The selection of the *My Vote* and *The Woman Next Door* political television advertisement was significant to this study in that, the *My Vote* political television commercial shares characteristics of the philosophical approach of Afrocentricism discussed in *Chapter Two*. Also, the election campaign television commercial shares the A.N.C.'s policy concerns on rural development and public services with rural communities and under-developed South African communities. The *Woman Next Door* commercial is also relevant to this study in that it focuses on the A.N.C.'s policy of the empowerment of women. Since the *2014 A.N.C. Commercial* was the only election commercial, the study had no alternative, but to use it.

The very first time the researcher was exposed to the 2009 and 2014 A.N.C. television election campaigns, was during the 2009 and 2014 general elections campaigns in South Africa. The television election commercials in question were aired on the S.A.B.C. television channels 1, 2 and 3 and later uploaded to the A.N.C. political party and *YouTube* internet webpages. In case the advertisements might be removed from these webpages, the researcher downloaded them in the form of *YouTube* video clips from the internet to his computer hard drive, with the use of software.⁴⁹ The downloaded video clips were then saved to three separate compact discs (C.D.'s) to be used in future (they are appended to the back of this thesis for reviewing).

⁴⁹ Available form: www.savefrom.net.com (available software).

The main opposition parties such as the D.A. used political television commercials for 2009 and 2014, but the genre of their television commercials was negative in nature, which is in contravention to I.C.A.S.A. statutes. Hence the D.A. political television commercials were not sampled for this study.

In the initial stages of this study, the researcher attempted to conduct a comparative analysis between the A.N.C. political commercials and the U.S. Democratic Party (2012) presidential election campaign commercials. Given the major differences in the political culture and the electoral systems of the U.S. and South Africa, it fell beyond the scope of this study. As stated previously, the U.S. political television commercials are applicable to a presidential electoral system, while South Africa uses a political party electoral system. Also, the U.S. uses negative advertising, while in South Africa negative advertising is banned by I.C.A.S.A. (cf. Chiumbu & Ciaglia 2015).

Another source of primary data is the literature review (cf. *Chapters Two, Three and Four* of this study). These reviews provide seminal (and secondary sources) from which thematic concepts were derived, all of which are used to extricate meaning from the texts in question. The literature reviews, as well as being a source of data, provided a means of overcoming researcher bias. They also provided the thematic “codes” upon which the analysis is based on.

5.11 POPULATION

This study data was selected from the population of the 2009 and 2014 political television commercial campaigns that were broadcast on the S.A.B.C. and the e-TV television channels. For the 2009 national elections, the population of political parties that used political television commercials were the A.C.D.P., A.N.C., C.O.P.E., D.A., F.F.P., I.D., and U.D.M. (Sindane 2010:84). For the 2014 general election campaigns, the population of political parties that use political television commercials were the A.C.D.P., A.N.C., D.A., C.O.P.E., F.F.P., I.F.P., and the U.D.M.

Thus, given the above, the population of this study suggests the total elements from which the sample was actually selected (Babbie & Mouton 2012:174). From the problem statement of this study, the target population of the study involved the entire group of

political television commercials of the 2009 and 2014 South African national election campaigns to which the researcher wanted to generalise his research findings. The accessible population for this specific study involved the unit of analysis to which the researcher had access (TerreBlanche, Durrheim & Painter 2006:288). The accessible population for this study was therefore the A.N.C. political television commercials for 2009 and 2014 used during the South African national elections. The population parameters for this specific qualitative content analysis study are the following: for the 2009 South African general elections, the study analyses two of the A.N.C. television election commercials; and for the 2014 South African national elections, the study analyses *one* A.N.C. television election commercial.

5.12 UNITS OF ANALYSIS

Units of analysis involve the smallest or the isolated elements from which the overall population is analysed (Bryman 2012:298). From the problem statement of this study, the unit of analysis involved examining both the latent and manifest meanings of the 2009 and 2014 A.N.C. political television advertisements. Within each of the A.N.C. advertisements, the units of analysis considered were the non-verbal; verbal; and, visual rhetoric. In addition to rhetoric, the study sought to analyse how social semiotic “tools” (discourse; representation; modality; genre; narrative; myth; ideology) were used in the commercials to create any underlying, or overt, socio-ideological meanings. The study also analysed the representation of the two postcolonial world perspectives namely, Afrocentrism and Eurocentrism (and whether they were latent or manifest).

5.13 SAMPLING METHOD

The sampling method is the segment of the total population that needs to be investigated. Since the problem statement of this study specifies the use of a qualitative content analysis research design, the type of sampling is that of non-probability. This type of sampling means that some units in the population do not have an equal and possible chance of being included in the selected sample (Bryman 2012:187). Since this study is qualitative and not quantitative, the research findings cannot be generalised. The type of non-probability sampling used in this study is purposive. By a “purposive”

sample, it means that the unit of analysis is deliberately drawn from a sample size of three A.N.C. television election commercials, because they represent the target population.

5.14 TIME DIMENSION

The time dimension for this study is longitudinal. A longitudinal study involves a study conducted over an extended period (Babbie & Mouton 2012:92). Because this study involves studying A.N.C. political television advertisements that occurred over a five-year period, from 2009 to 2014, it is longitudinal.

5.15 DATA ANALYSIS

Data analysis began with repeated viewings of the three advertisements. Their narratives, including the narration and any communication, were transcribed and described in chronological order. Thereafter an extensive information trawl was undertaken, which resulted in an in-depth literature review (cf. *Chapters Two, Three and Four*). Sensitised themes (“codes”) were extricated from the literature review in-order-to interpret the content of the advertisements. It was during the “information trawl” that it became apparent that to interpret the texts, this thesis had to borrow from several different fields, or disciplines, of research, which resulted in the eclectic nature of the study. These different disciplines included communication (social semiotics); political communication (verbal, non-verbal and visual rhetoric); and, film and television studies (cinematic techniques).

The next two chapters of this thesis presents the findings and interpretation of the media texts. Thus, the following data (television advertisements) are coded as: *My Vote*; the *Woman Next Door*; and, the *2014 A.N.C. Commercial*. In the analysis and interpretation of the political television advertisements, the study sought to analyse the: underlying meanings and ideologies of the non-verbal, verbal and visual rhetoric found in all of the three A.N.C. political television advertisements; and whether they represented the Afrocentric and/or Eurocentric postcolonial perspectives. Also, the study compared the similarities and/or the differences in these three A.N.C. television

advertisements. These findings are presented in *Chapter Six* and *Chapter Seven* of the thesis.

5.16 CONCLUSION

This chapter provided an overview of the research process involved in the selection of the A.N.C. political television commercials. It further explained and justified the use of qualitative content (textual/thematic) analysis; and the use of social semiotics (also see *Chapter Four*). Furthermore, it demarcated the population and the sampling process involved, that is, the sampling of *two* 2009 A.N.C. advertisements and *one* 2014 A.N.C. political television advertisement, during the South African general elections in those years.

Chapters Six and *Seven* of this study provide the findings and interpretation of the three advertisements in question.

CHAPTER SIX: ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION (PART I): THE VERBAL RHETORIC OF THE THREE A.N.C. POLITICAL TELEVISION ADVERTISEMENTS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter forms the first of two parts of the analysis and interpretation of data of the A.N.C. political television commercials. The chapter discusses the findings and the interpretation of the three A.N.C. political television commercials, the: *My Vote* (2009); *Woman Next Door* (2009); and, *2014 A.N.C. Commercial*.

The chapter begins by providing a (narrative) descriptive overview of the three A.N.C. political television advertisements. Then, with the use of social semiotics, the latent and manifest meanings of the texts are identified, explored and explicated. The social semiotic “tools”, or dimensions, namely discourse; representation; modality; genre; myth; and, ideology were used to deconstruct the meanings of verbal rhetoric. Lastly, the chapter identifies whether the meanings (overt or covert) represent the Afrocentric and/or Eurocentric postcolonial perspectives.

6.2 THREE A.N.C. ADVERTISEMENTS: BACKGROUND AND NARRATIVE DESCRIPTIONS

This section provides background information on the production of the three advertisements. This is followed by a narrative description, in chronological order, of each of the A.N.C. advertisements.

6.2.1 Background on the A.N.C. political television commercials

The *My Vote* and the *Woman Next Door* political television advertisements are two of four election campaign advertisements used by the A.N.C. in the 2009 South African general elections. These two commercials were created and produced by Ogilvy and Mather South Africa, which is the largest international marketing communications company in South Africa.⁵⁰ The A.N.C. election campaign advertisements were aired on

⁵⁰ It operates in 120 countries and was founded by Davis Ogilvy in 1948. In South Africa, Ogilvy and Mather offers advertising and marketing services from offices in Johannesburg, Cape Town and Durban (Ogilvy and Mather South Africa...[Sa]).

all three channels of the S.A.B.C. (1, 2, 3). They were aired in *isiZulu* and *seSotho* with sub-titles in English. The election campaign advertisements were uploaded on the *YouTube* internet on 7 February 2009 by Ogilvy and Mather.⁵¹

The 2014 A.N.C. *Commercial* was also created and produced by the Ogilvy and Mather advertising agency based in Johannesburg. Like the previous advertisements, it was aired on all three S.A.B.C. channels, in three South African languages, namely English, *seSotho* and *isiZulu*; and was uploaded onto the web on 3 March 2014 under the title, “*South Africa has moved forward since 1994*”.⁵²

6.2.2 A brief narrative description of the A.N.C. political television commercials

The following section of this chapter focuses on the narrative (objective) and chronological description of all three political television commercials.

6.2.2.1 The “My Vote” advertisement (2009)

The *My Vote* commercial is 120 seconds (two minutes) long, and opens with a long shot of a rural scene of a winding dirt road, with ducks grazing on the one side, and a medium close-up shot of a scene of foraging and unattended goats on the other side. Then there is a jump cut, using a long shot, of a scene of a nibbling cow and a cattle herder, who is herding livestock along the dirt road. In the next scene, there is an open field and a groundwater pond in which the cattle are feeding and drinking. The scene of a rural village is jump cut by a scene of a medium close-up shot of colourful laundry hanging on a washing line. Then there is a scene of an elderly black man, who is identified as Mr James Xaba (a 64-year-old man from Queenstown, Eastern Cape Province of South Africa). A long shot shows him walking slowly (with the help of a walking stick) along the maize fields wearing a brown business suit and a brown hat. The old man then appears in a medium close-up shot where he is seated and

⁵¹ The *My Vote* commercial is accessible on the following link: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=655quoOEMzk>, while the *Woman Next Door* commercial can be accessed on the following link: <http://www.politicsweb.co.za/party/woman-next-door--fourth-anc-tv-advert> (A.N.C. launches T.V. election campaign 2009 ... 2009).

⁵² The advertisement is available on the *YouTube* internet webpage: www.youtube.com/watch?v=kVMWctRP_7s.

“meditating”, and behind him there are two village houses painted in green. One house is a *rondavel*,⁵³ and the other is a corrugated roof house. The old man, Mr Xaba, is the narrator of the *My Vote* advertisement:

-voiceover:

“I remember when I was still a young man, I was full of dreams, but those dreams were not fulfilled”

A jump cut of Mr Nelson Mandela and his then wife, Mrs Winnie Madikizela-Mandela, appears in a long shot of a crowd of people, all raising their fists,

-voiceover:

“When Madiba,⁵⁴ was released, those dreams became a reality. That was the beginning of an exciting road to a better life for all”

A jump cut of the two village women appears in long shot collecting water from the communal water tap, and a long shot of a group of village people carrying water containers dissolves. After a jump cut, a boy washing his face at a running water tap appears in a close-up shot,

-voiceover:

“Over the past fifteen years, We have seen how people lives have improved, We have seen people receive clean running water”

A camera wipe is followed by a still image, and a long shot of a family group photo in front of a government subsidy house appears,

-voiceover:

“We have seen people receive free houses”

A jump cut is followed by a still image depicting the close-up shot of electricity cables,

-voiceover:

⁵³ A “*rondavel*” is a round hut with a pointed roof that is made from thatch or corrugated iron.

⁵⁴ *Madiba* is the former South African president, Mr Nelson Mandela, whose clan name falls under the *Abathembu* tribe of the *amaXhosa* ethnic group concentrated largely in the Eastern Cape Province of South Africa.

“We have received electricity”

The electricity cable scene is dissolved and followed by a medium-long shot of a primary school teacher and her pupils in a classroom. Then, a jump cut followed by a long camera shot depicts a scene of learners playing soccer in the school grounds appears,

-voiceover:

“Schools have been built for our grandchildren”

A jump cut occurs to a scene of nurses administering to patients at what appears to be a local or provincial, health clinic,

-voiceover:

“And even those with poor health now have access to clinics and hospitals, even though I may say that the A.N.C. government has improved our lives, there is much that needs to be done”

A jump cut follows, and Mr Xaba stands up from his seat and points with his walking stick,

-voiceover:

“My vote is backing the A.N.C. on all the good work they have done to improve the lives of our people,

It is also a message telling the A.N.C. that the nation is expecting more.

This is a message to you Nxamalala,⁵⁵

Heed this call Msholoji”⁵⁶

A jump cut follows in which the narrator, Mr James Xaba, is depicted, with the use of a long shot, walking slowly back along the maize fields, as he disappears from the scene. A soft cut of Mr Jacob Zuma, president of the A.N.C., appears in a medium close-

⁵⁵ *Nxamalala* is a clan name found in the *Umgungudlovu* and *Uthungulu* District Municipalities of the KwaZulu-Natal Province of South Africa.

⁵⁶ President Jacob Zuma is named “*Msholoji*”, after the presiding village Chief *Msholoji* of the *Nxamalala* or the Zuma clan.

up shot. He is wearing a black suit and a white shirt, sitting in a large arm chair, and in the background on the right, there is an A.N.C. flag,

-voiceover:

“As South Africans, we have achieved much in the last fifteen years; working together we can do even more, so vote for better life for all, Vote A.N.C.”

The scene of Mr Jacob Zuma is dissolved with a close-up shot of an A.N.C. flag. The *My Vote* commercial ends with the A.N.C. logo of the spear, the shield, the arm, a wheel and the A.N.C. colours of black, green and yellow. Underneath the logo, there is election campaign slogan: “Working together we can do more”, the A.N.C. website is provided underneath the election campaign slogan: “www.myanc.org”.

Next, the narrative of the *Woman Next Door* (2009) advertisement is described.

6.2.2.2 The “Woman Next Door” (2009) advertisement

The *Woman Next Door* is a 45-second long A.N.C. political television advertisement. The opening scene of the commercial is a long shot of a black and white photograph. The photograph, which is somewhat faded, is of African women marching,

-voiceover:

“We have really come a long way as women, but you know what?”

The camera soft-cuts to a scene in which a black woman appears in a medium-long camera shot wearing a white apron standing inside a kitchen,

-voiceover:

“This bed and breakfast belongs to me”

A soft-cut to a medium-long shot of a woman appears in which she is in a bedroom helping her domestic worker to make up a bed,

-voiceover:

“I help other women provide for their families”

The woman is dissolved and appears in a long shot walking down the street of a township, with a school building behind her, and a group of boys playing soccer on the street, while others are playing with handmade wire car toys,

-voiceover:

“There was a time when as a woman, I could only dream of being where I am today. It was never easy, but with the support and initiative of the A.N.C. government, I worked hard to get where I am today”

There is then a jump cut of a different woman in a hair salon, with a hairdresser styling her hair,

-voiceover:

“Will the government create more opportunities for my business to thrive? Most importantly, will we see more women in business leadership?”

The scene of the woman fades out, and a close-up shot of the A.N.C. president, Mr Jacob Zuma, wearing a black suit and white shirt appears, seated in a large armchair, with the A.N.C. flag in the background to the right,

-voiceover:

“Vote for a better life for all, Vote A.N.C., ‘Igama lama khosikazi malibongwe’”⁵⁷

The scene of the president fades in, and the close-up of the A.N.C. flag appears flying high. The *Woman Next Door* television election campaign commercial ends with the A.N.C. logo of the spear, the shield, the arm, a wheel and the A.N.C. colours (black, green and yellow). Underneath the logo there is an election campaign slogan: *“Working together we can do more”*. The A.N.C. website is printed below the election campaign slogan: www.myanc.org.

The next section describes the third A.N.C. 2014 political television advertisement.

⁵⁷ The *isiZulu* hymn for “praises be given to women”.

6.2.2.3 The “2014 A.N.C. Commercial” (2014) advertisement

The *2014 A.N.C. Commercial* is a 60-second (one-minute) commercial used by the A.N.C. in the fifth general election of a democratic South Africa. The political commercial opens with a long shot of an African woman, in an office building, wearing a business suit, standing against the window and looking over the city,

-voiceover:

“So they say this country is going backwards”

The jump cut of a scene is followed by a long shot of a building in a shadow, dark grey clouds and a flock of birds flying in the dark and red sky. A jump cut of a new scene appears in a long shot depicting a scene of the morning rush in the inner city of Johannesburg. There are people walking to work, while others are waiting for busses next to the closed shops. There is also a man of Indian descent, waiting for the store to open, while refuse is lying around to be collected and the inner-city buses are passing by. This is followed by a medium close-up shot in an early morning bus, with mostly high school students (listening to music with earphones on). A jump cut from there is to a newspaper stall, with an black man reading a newspaper. Thereafter, a medium close-up shot depicts a scene of a woman shopkeeper watching television news with a concerned look on her face,

-voiceover:

“Every day we hear one negative story or the other, they are always talking”

A jump cut from there shows a long-shot of a stadium, followed by a close-up shot of a man inside the stadium. The man is looking impressed with the stadium. His scene is followed by a long-shot of a group of pedestrians watching television on the sidewalk in which the presidential inauguration of Mr Nelson Mandela appears. This is immediately followed by medium close-up shot of a scene of a woman giving birth,

-voiceover:

“But they never talked about how we have moved forward, just yesterday we gave birth to democracy. Although they said we’re too young and inexperienced, we kept building”

After the birthing scene, a panoramic long shot shows a scene of newly built government subsidy houses. This panorama is followed by a medium close-up shot in which a mother is helping her daughter with her homework. The camera jump cuts to a scene of black family in their bedroom, with the wife and husband both sitting on the bed as he prepares to go work in the early morning. Directly after, the advertisement shows a medium shot of a white family having dinner together at a table. Next, there is a medium close-up shot of a Muslim sleeping on his grandfather's chest. This is followed by a scene of the city lights in a long shot, with an old man who appears impressed with these lights. A close-up shot of the South African flag appears, along with the narration,

-voiceover:

“While they were talking, we built a nation that we can all live in with freedom and equality. Now South Africa is in a better place than it was twenty years ago”

In the scene to follow, there is a panoramic view of a seaport, a long shot of ship captains, and a medium shot of workers at the construction site of an electricity power plant. Following that is a scene of health practitioners treating a patient's eyes. This cuts directly to a group of university engineering students testing a robotic (unidentified) device. This scene is contrasted with another panoramic view, this time of primary school pupils playing in a soccer field. The soccer field (in a rural setting), on which they are playing their game, has a macro sized image of the South African flag. A jump cut follows the camera to a scene of a primary school pupil in a library, where she is searching for books on a library shelf. Next is a scene of a high school student in a classroom with the following narration,

-voiceover:

“And we will continue to do more, over the next five years we will invest more in infrastructure, give more families free access to healthcare and create six million more work opportunities”

A big close-shot appears of an old man in the corn fields, followed by a long shot of people working on a farm. Finally, there is black screen with the A.N.C. logo depicting a spear, a wheel, a shield, an arm, and the flag depicting the A.N.C. colours (black, yellow

and green). There is written white text at the top of the logo with the words “VOTE A.N.C.” and at the bottom of the logo, there is written text with the words “A BETTER LIFE FOR ALL” appears,

-voiceover:

“Let us continue to build, because together we move South Africa forward. Vote A.N.C. A better life for all.”

The foregoing sections of this chapter objectively and briefly described the content of the three A.N.C. political television commercials.⁵⁸

The next section provides a discussion of the findings by analysing the verbal rhetoric of the A.N.C. political television commercials using the seven dimensions of the social semiotic research framework, namely discourse, representation, modality, narrative, genre, myth and ideology.

6.3 DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

In this section, the study seeks to address the research aims; goals; and, objectives as formulated in *Chapter One: Introduction* and *Chapter Five: Research Methodology*.

6.3.1 “My Vote”: “Discourse” (“social reality”): A dimension of social semiotics

This section of the chapter focuses on the social semiotic research framework of the dimension of discourse in the analysis of verbal rhetoric.

The following verbal rhetoric taken from the *My Vote* advertisement, is analysed

*“We have seen people receive free houses,
“We have seen people receive electricity”*

In *Chapter Three* verbal rhetoric was defined to include the following semantic characteristics: metaphors; style; and symbols, used to communicate political messages (cf. Kaid & Johnston 2001). The above verbal rhetoric uses the style of repetition suggesting that “We” represents the A.N.C. However, the verbal rhetoric, “We”, also suggests ordinary South Africans, particularly the black electorate. The above verbal rhetoric uses another style of repetition, “have seen people”, which suggests that the

⁵⁸ Please see appended D.V.D. for the full details of the three A.N.C. television political commercials.

A.N.C. assures its electoral constituents that they have benefitted from the A.N.C.-led government. It refers particularly to the black electorates, living largely in rural areas and townships, marginalised and oppressed under the apartheid regime.

The verbal rhetoric “*receive free houses*” and “*receive electricity*” suggests the discourse of a national project. In *Chapter Four* of this study, discourse was described as the construction of the “social reality” (cf. Foucault 1977:49). This means that a certain form of social knowledge is used to describe the practical terms of social knowledge and certain behaviour prevailing in a defined social environment. Ndlovu- Gathseni (cf. 2013:198) defines the discourse (“social reality”) of national projects as a state policy which seeks to re-dress or resolve a particular problem, or national question/issue, such as poverty and the under-development of infrastructures among black people. Thus, the above verbal rhetoric suggests that the South African national government seeks to resolve the national problems of lack of access to electricity and housing, among black South Africans living in marginalised communities, such as townships and rural villages.

The manifest meaning of the above verbal rhetoric, “*we have seen people receive free houses*”, is therefore based on international and national practices. Regarding international practices, South Africa as a member of the United Nations (henceforth, U.N.), adopted the United Nations Millennium Declaration in 2000 that committed to help and achieve Millennium Development Goals (henceforth, M.D.G.) by 2015. These M.D.G. goals are, amongst others, to eradicate extreme hunger and poverty. Thus, in relation to the above rhetoric of increased access to housing, the advertisement resonates with the M.D.G. (Goal 1), to eradicate hunger and poverty among South Africans (Millennium Development Goal: Country Report 2009). At a national level, the advertisement resonates with the national project of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (henceforth, R.D.P.),⁵⁹ which sought to eradicate poverty and

⁵⁹ The origins of the R.D.P. can be traced back to the early 1990s with the trade union, the Congress of the South African Trade Unions (C.O.S.A.T.U.) proposal of the *Redistribution Accord* which emphasises a labour-driven development programme, which was later adopted by the Tripartite Alliance Committee comprising the A.N.C., C.O.S.A.T.U. and the South African Communist Party (S.A.C.P.). C.O.S.A.T.U.’s R.D.P. document became a principal national project at the A.N.C. national conference on Reconstruction and Strategy in January 1994. The R.D.P. is an integrated, coherent socio-economic policy framework

under-development through increased access to water, housing, education, electricity and primary health care (Liebenberg & Stewart 1997). Regarding the national mandate, Chapter Two, Section 27 (1) (1996) of the *South African Constitution* makes provision for access to housing. In this case, South African citizens living below the poverty line and earning low incomes have the constitutional right to free housing commonly known as R.D.P. houses. An R.D.P. house is a basic house involving secure tenure, land and a housing structure, as well as the supply of water, sanitation and electricity (Mthembi-Mahanyele 2002:6). Since 1994, the R.D.P.'s housing development programme has provided 24 percent of formal housing development in South Africa (Newton & Schuermans 2014). At the time of the *My Vote* advertisement, over 226 000 housing units had been built (Department of Human Settlement 2009). Thus, in the A.N.C., there is significant reference to free housing for the poor and the needy.

Given the above manifest meaning, one should note that, what is not explicitly presented in the above verbal rhetoric is as important as what appears on the surface, that is, the latent meaning. Thus, the foregoing verbal rhetoric of “*receive free houses*” does not reveal the underlying binary oppositions that prevail among South African home owners. That is, the wealthy versus the poor; the developed versus the underdeveloped; and the privileged versus the underprivileged. So, although the R.D.P. housing programme has provided millions of poor South Africans with houses, in the analysis of the latent meaning of the above verbal rhetoric, one can, however, argue that the housing programme in question perpetuates poverty among the beneficiaries. One needs to consider the fact that the apartheid and colonial spatial planning established black townships and rural villages on the periphery of the major cities and towns of South Africa. In many instances these are far from the urban city centres, and the land (or settlements/townships)

that seeks to mobilise the South African government and citizens, the business community and the international community to work towards finally eradicating apartheid and building a democratic, non-racial and non-sexist future. The R.D.P. document contained principles which commit government to meet citizens' basic social needs such as the distribution of social services and poverty eradication through the provision of the following: social security, nutrition, transport, telecommunication, water and sanitation, land reform, employment, housing, electricity, primary health care, investment in the economy, democratisation of the South African government and society, the development of human resources through education and training, and empowerment of women and children. These principles later became the basis of the A.N.C. election manifesto during the April 1994 general election campaigns (Liebenberg & Swart 1997:4).

is of poor quality of land and therefore cheap and lacks amenities and infrastructures, such as running water. The R.D.P. housing development on the urban periphery therefore arguably contributes to the creation of poor urban neighbourhoods, which are far from any economic opportunities. Hence, the location of R.D.P. housing, in many instances, leaves home owners economically and socially marginalised. In the Western Cape Province of South Africa, for instance, the R.D.P. houses are perceived by affluent neighbouring communities as “dysfunctional ghettos” (Burgoyne 2008:37). This is mostly because R.D.P. home owners are either unemployed or unskilled; or semi-skilled labourers, with little or no money, to take care of their houses.

Another latent meaning of the verbal rhetoric “*free houses*” suggests the following: firstly, an R.D.P. house can be a dream come true for many poor people who were marginalised by the previous apartheid government. Secondly, a house can be symbolic, in that it does not only provide a home owner with shelter, but it is also an investment, which over time could appreciate in value and make a profit for the home owner. In turn, they can use the house as a collateral asset to access loans, to fund the education of his or her children, or to pursue other economic activities (Cross 2006). Despite the above-mentioned achievement by previously marginalised South Africans, the underlying implication of R.D.P. houses are that these home owners are not considered by, or absorbed into, the residential property market in South Africa. This is because of their undesirable location, and the poor quality of the houses themselves. The R.D.P. houses thus further perpetuate the unequal distribution wealth and class in South Africa, furthermore, this inequality is along class lines.

Another underlying aspect of the national project is the discourse of access to electricity. The preceding verbal rhetoric, “*we have received electricity*”, suggests that the A.N.C.-led government is responding to the above mentioned international benchmark and national mandate of the eradication of poverty and underdevelopment of infrastructures in South Africa. However, the A.N.C.-led government has a national constitutional mandate, which ensures that the economically marginalised people of South Africa also have access to electricity. Chapter Seven of the *National Constitution*

of South Africa (1996) includes a provision for local governments to ensure household access to electricity. The above verbal rhetoric therefore manifestly references the following meaning (circa 2016): the South African Government Department of Performance, Monitoring and Evaluation (henceforth, D.P.M.E.; cf. D.P.M.E. 2009:33) reported that by 2009, 9 245 357 South African households had been connected to electricity. However, over two million households, predominantly in remote rural communities, such as the Eastern Cape, Limpopo and KwaZulu-Natal provinces, did not have access to electricity. A study by Statistics South Africa between 2002 and 2009 (General Household Surveys of 2009; 2009:22) revealed that 11.4 percent of South Africans still used candles for lighting; 8.5 percent used paraffin liquid for cooking; and 12.5 percent used wood fires for cooking. The above information reveals that despite the verbal rhetoric in the 2009 *My Vote* advertisement, not all South Africans have access to electricity.

The verbal rhetoric of “*We have received electricity*”, also suggests the following latent meaning: increased household access to electricity benefits the economy; reduces poverty; and generally, improves people’s quality of life. For instance, the electrified household increases safety, which lowers the risk of burns and improves the health of the family because they can keep food fresh in their fridge and cook their meals with less pollutant devices, such as coal-fire stoves. The electrified household increases media access such as television and radio, which changes opinions about, say, the role of women in the society and improves the education of children as they can spend more time on their books after school. Households with electricity also economically benefitted. Unemployed women, for instance, can create home-based small business initiatives that could generate income for the family, such as making food to sell next to construction sites.

Also, the verbal rhetoric, “*we have seen people receive free houses*” and “*we have received electricity*” suggests the ideological construct of socialism. *Chapter Four* of this study identified socialism as one of the significant ideological dimensions of social semiotics. Socialism is described as an ideological construct concerned with government intervention in the distribution of wealth (cf. Haywood 2003:105).

Thus, according to the A.N.C.-led government, with the provision of the R.D.P. housing, the poor have shelter, and can use their houses as an economic asset to create wealth. In the light of the socialist ideological construct of the above verbal rhetoric (cf. Thompson 1990), the ideological strategy suggests the use of the narrativisation ideological technique. In *Chapter Four*, the concept of “narrativization” was described as an ideological technique or strategy which presents ideology in the form of a story or the narration of stories (cf. Thompson 1990).

In addition to the identification of “narrativization”, or story narrative, as an ideological technique or strategy, *Chapter Four* pointed out that narration is a significant dimension of social semiotics and as such can be used to make information known in the public sphere (cf. Kress & Van Leeuwen 1996:59). Key players in the narrative dimension are the connected sequence of events and different actors who participate in these of events (cf. Hodge & Kress 1988:230). Hence the above verbal rhetoric represents the narrative actor of an old black man, who, in the advertisement, narrates his own history, as a man who lived through the heinous colonial and apartheid atrocities and through the significant, “positive” changes, made by the A.N.C.-led government.

In a nutshell, the above section analysed the sub-problem question mentioned in *Chapter Five*, namely to identify whether any latent and manifest meanings are represented in the *My Vote* television election campaign commercial. And to interpret what these meanings are. The above discussion indicated that the manifest meaning refers to the building of houses for the poor (a mere 226 000). This is in direct contrast to the latent meaning, or reference, to the housing crisis in South Africa, where more than two million houses still do not have access to electricity (circa 2016). The manifest meaning suggests an improved quality of life for the majority, if not all, of South Africans. And in keeping with the research assumptions formulated in *Chapter Five*, the manifest, and latent, ideology refers to a socialist ideology (free housing and electricity for all).

The following section of the analysis of data focuses on the *Woman Next Door* (2009) A.N.C. political television commercial.

6.3.2 The “*Woman Next Door*”: “*Discourse*” (“*social reality*”): A dimension of social semiotics

This section focuses on the representation of the social semiotic dimension of discourse (social reality) in the verbal rhetoric of the *Woman Next Door* (2009) advertisement:

*“We have really come a long way as women
This bed and breakfast belongs to me”,*

This extract uses the verbal rhetoric “*We*” to suggest two possible manifest meanings: firstly, South African black, coloured and Indian women who endured discrimination and oppression under the apartheid regime. Secondly, it infers a reference to the African National Congress Women League (henceforth, A.N.C.W.L.),⁶⁰ which is a significant organisational structure in the A.N.C.

The extract uses the verbal rhetoric, “*came a long way as women*”, to suggest the use of the metaphor, “a long way”. As indicated in *Chapter Three*, Kaid and Johnston (cf. 2001) described verbal rhetoric as semantic characteristics that possess a metaphor. In this specific case, the metaphor “a long way” suggests a long road, a walking distance, a long journey full of difficulties and hardships. The metaphor also suggests historical hardships that people of a particular race, in this case black, coloured and Indian South Africans, and in particular women, had to endure in colonial and apartheid South Africa. Thus, the above verbal rhetoric can be seen to suggest the historical discourse of violent colonialism in which non-whites were racialised and segregated and regarded as sexual subjects exposed to all forms of violence, including enslavement, rape and genocide (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013:126). In the South African context, non-whites who were exposed to colonial and apartheid violence were Indian, coloured and black South African women.

Hence the manifest meaning of the above verbal rhetoric suggests that during the colonial era in the late 1800s and early 1900s, after the discovery of gold and diamonds

⁶⁰ The A.N.C.W.L. is an organisational structure of the A.N.C. formed in the 1948. The main function of the A.N.C.W.L. was to protest and challenge the injustices of apartheid such as the pass laws of the 1950s which sought to control the movement of black people in the major urban areas of South Africa, Bantu Education and what this inferior type of education meant for black people, and the 1920 beer hall protest by black women in KwaZulu-Natal, who protested against municipal restrictive laws that prohibited African women from selling homemade beer to African men at home.

in South Africa, women had to remain at home in remote rural villages while their husbands worked in the gold and diamond mines for extended periods of time. While black South African men were taking on work in the mines for extended periods of time, it became increasingly evident that they were no longer part of the traditional household family—that is, supporting their families emotionally and materially. As such, the women had to till the agricultural land in the rural villages to produce food for their families, collect water far from their homes and assume the responsibility of taking care of their families without the support of their husbands. When food supplies ran out, black women were forced to migrate to the cities of South Africa, in search of economic opportunities. They were forced to leave their children in the care of the grandmothers, and in some instances the children had to live with neighbours, particularly in instances where there were no family members. The poverty situation which many women in rural communities were exposed to ideologically changed women's identities from being mothers and caregivers of their families to migrant workers living in the cities,⁶¹ (Hassim 2005).

In the cities, however, women were confronted by government discriminatory laws such as the pass laws which dated back to the 1898. These laws sought to control the influx of black people, especially women, for fear that they would settle permanently in the urban cities of South Africa. Under the pass laws, black people were expected to carry a permit which indicated that a particular black man was employed as a mine or factory worker in the city, while a woman was employed as a domestic worker. These permits were expected to be renewed every month. In the event of someone not being in possession of such a permit, such as women who were trading on the streets, street

⁶¹ Black women without urban rights such as passes were not permitted to bring their families to live with them in cities such as Johannesburg. They were forced to live in hostels such as the Mai-Mai women's hostel in Johannesburg. In-order-to survive and send money home, they had to sell African beer, which was prohibited by the authorities. Some women were compelled to resort to prostitution. In male-dominated hostels, with a population of over 70 000 men, concentrated in densely populated hostels, there were problems of alcohol abuse; gambling; environmental homosexuality (commonly known as men having sex with other men or M.S.M.); inhumane conditions such as overcrowding in hostel rooms, lack of individual privacy; poor sanitation and prostitution; which resulted in the transmission of sexually transmitted diseases such as gonorrhoea, syphilis and H.I.V./AIDS (Cranshaw 2005).

vendors and women selling traditional African beer “*bojalwa jwa Setswana*”,⁶² illegally, he or she was forced to return to the rural villages (Hassim 2005; Wells 1983)

Given these oppressive developments, women started to organise themselves as early as the 1902 protest initiated by the Orange Free State Native Vigilance Association (henceforth, O.F.S.N.V.A.) and the African Political Organisation (A.P.O.) founded by the Cape Town by Dr Abdullah Abdurahman, which regularly sent petitions to government authorities such as the mayor of Bloemfontein and the King of England asking for a repeal of women’s passes. In 1912, a *Bantu*⁶³ Women’s League was established at the A.N.C. conference in Bloemfontein. The goal of the Bantu Women League was to force the government of the day, through a petition signed by more than 5 000 individuals and handed to the then South African Prime Minister, Louis Botha, in March 1912, to abandon the use of passes for women. The protest against passes intensified on 29 May 1923 at a community meeting, which resulted in the formation of the Orange Free State Native and Coloured Women’s Association, in which women pledged to refuse to carry passes any longer and expressed their intention to march into the town centre and tear up their passes in front of the police (Wells 1983:56).

By the 1950’s, the N.P. government was increasingly determined to pass laws, and this led to women protesting in the song, “Let us go to Pretoria ourselves and protest to the Government against laws that oppress us” (Wells 1983: 57). On the 9 August 1956, over 20 000 women of all races marched to the Union Buildings in Pretoria to hand over a petition to the then South African Prime Minister, Hans Strijdom. Hence the use of passes or permits among South African blacks, coloureds and Indians was seen as a symbol of a lack of freedom of movement and of oppression by the white minority (Wells 1983).

Women in the 1960s and 1970s, during the banning of the A.N.C., played a significant role, working underground with the *Umkhonto we Sizwe*,⁶⁴ a military wing of the A.N.C. Some women were detained and imprisoned for political involvement which sought to

⁶² Sorghum beer.

⁶³ “*Bantu*” is a Nguni (predominantly *isiZulu*, *isiXhosa*, *isiNdebele* and *isiSwati* language groups) word for “people”.

⁶⁴ *isiZulu* language for the “spear of the nation”.

oust the N.P. government from power. In the 1980s, women played a significant role in the formation of the U.D.F. which endeavoured to destabilise the political and economic stability of South Africa. On the labour front, South African women were active in organised labour which sought to destabilise the economy and the political stability of South Africa. In post-apartheid, South Africa, women continued to play a significant role in building South Africa's democracy. South African women are significantly represented in key strategic positions of power, be it in parliament, civil society or the judiciary.

Returning to the television election campaign commercial in question, the above verbal rhetoric possesses different underlying latent meaning. Firstly, the underlying latent meaning of verbal rhetoric suggests that women were oppressed as sexual objects by a white, racist and patriarchal system of colonial power. In other words, a minority of white people in South Africa had the ability to exert power on non-whites, politically, sexually and economically. Secondly, the underlying latent meaning of verbal rhetoric "*we ... as women*" suggests an element of the organisation of women—that is, women uniting and responding to the dysfunctional patriarchal system of male domination and oppression. In these organisations, women sought to embrace an alternative that would give them a vision to resist and liberate themselves from the irrational oppression of the white patriarchal system. The verbal rhetoric of "*as women*" also suggests the underlying meaning of self-identity, the significance of gender and women's position in the broader society. The underlying latent meaning reflects the inherent symbolic meaning of the strength, struggle and endurance of women in trying circumstances.

Furthermore, the latent meaning of the above verbal rhetoric suggests the discourse of the national project on the question of women—that is, the eradication of poverty and underdevelopment of women through their increased participation in business. The underlying meaning of the preceding verbal rhetoric of women in business suggests a decline in the poverty and underdevelopment of women, providing them with employment opportunities, and most importantly, strengthening family unity. Secondly, women in business are faced with the challenges of marginalisation and lack of recognition in the "old boys' club" (Davies-Netzely 1998:343). Even though women play a significant role in business, for the most part, their influence and power in business is

invisible. They are also considered to be the “absent” workforce, as historically and even today, they assume job roles in which they are the “unseen” such as domestic and factory workers.

The underlying ideological construct of the foregoing verbal rhetoric suggests an underlying feminist ideology as a tool or dimension of the social semiotic approach. In *Chapter Four*, feminist ideology was described as a subset of the socialist feminist ideological construct, which refuses and resists the subjection of women to the patriarchal system (cf. Haywood 1998/2003). Hence, the above verbal rhetoric equates the implicit form of U.S. neo-colonialism, characterised by cultural domination, with the rhetoric of democracy and women’s rights movements in developing countries such as South Africa. The liberal feminist ideology, which advocates minimum government intervention in the emancipation and independence of women, calls for women to be afforded a range of social and economic opportunities (cf. Haywood 1998/2003).

Like the *My Vote* television election campaign commercial, which uses narrativisation as an ideological technique and a social semiotic dimension, in the verbal rhetoric of the *Woman Next Door* commercial, the woman is a narrator who expresses a socialist feminist ideology. The narrative in this case expresses the woman’s experience as an independent business person, who talks about her economic success and strong sense of economic independence and identity, and in so doing, she also narrates the history of the A.N.C.W.L., and the collective women’s movement which comprised all women during the years of the A.N.C.’s struggle in colonial and apartheid South Africa.

In summary, the above section analysed the sub-problem question raised in *Chapter Four*, which sought to identify whether the latent and manifest meaning was represented in the *Woman Next Door* commercial. The above discussion indicated that the manifest meaning of the above verbal rhetoric in the *Woman Next Door* commercial involved the historical oppression of black, Indian and coloured women in colonial and apartheid South Africa. The latent meaning of the above verbal rhetoric, suggested the empowerment of women and improving the quality of life of previously marginalised South African women. The above analysis of the verbal rhetoric successfully addressed the sub-problem question raised in *Chapter Five*, which described the underlying

ideological environment in which the verbal rhetoric was produced. In line with the research assumption in *Chapter Five*, the above analysis successfully deconstructed the underlying ideology of the above verbal rhetoric which represented the socialist feminist ideological construct.

The next section focuses on the discourse of the *2014 A.N.C. Commercial*.

6.3.3 The “2014 A.N.C. Commercial”: “Discourse” (“social reality”): A dimension of social semiotics

This section analyses the extracted verbal rhetoric of the *2014 A.N.C. Commercial*:

“Although they said we’re too young and inexperienced, we kept building”

This rhetoric suggests the following metaphor: “young” and “inexperienced”. The manifest meaning of the above verbal rhetoric, “*We’re too young and inexperienced*”, suggests that the A.N.C. took government from 1994 to 2014. Thus, in 2014, the A.N.C. already had twenty years of experience in government compared to the European Imperialists who had ruled South Africa from the 1700’s with the first arrival of the Dutch settlers, followed by the British and Portuguese, and later the apartheid rule under the Afrikaners.

The verbal rhetoric “*they*” suggests the opposition political parties that were/are critical of the A.N.C.-led government. At the time of this election campaign and the television commercial, the main opposition political parties constituted primarily the following: the D.A.; the E.E.F.; C.O.P.E.; the F.F.P; and, the U.D.M. Other critical “parties” included the private print and broadcast media (Oosthuizen 2014). These opposition parties, particularly the D.A., which is largely comprised of white South Africans from the upper economic strata, have been critical of the A.N.C.-led government on a range of issues such as corruption; crime; the economy; education; energy; governance; health; housing; immigration; the judiciary; and, policy issues (Oosthuizen 2014).⁶⁵

⁶⁵ For example, at the time of this advertisement, the opposition political parties and media were critical of the A.N.C.’s poor governance, corruption and the upgrades to South African President Jacob Zuma’s private home, Nkandla, which cost South African taxpayers R246 million (Lund 2014).

The above verbal rhetoric, however, suggests the underlying latent meaning of white racism and the persistent undermining of black leadership, that is, the A.N.C. which is led predominantly by black South Africans. The use of the metaphor, “*too young*” and “*inexperienced*” suggests the colonial reductionist view about black South Africans. The underlying latent meaning of the verbal rhetoric “*too young*”, suggests the colonial discourse of racism, which views blacks as “child-like” and “immature”. In *Chapter Two*, coloniality was described as a long-standing invisible; hidden; and, subtle form of domination by Western powers which are persistent in postcolonial society (cf. Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013:332). In other words, the above verbal rhetoric suggests the reductionist discourse crafted by the Western colonial assumptions of racism that undermine and belittle non-whites in post-apartheid South Africa. Fanon (cf. 1991:30) and Ndlovu-Gatsheni (cf. 2013:104) both mention the following colonial assumptions about non-whites: an African is seen as a child who lacks knowledge; substance; history; rationality; civilisation; development; and, common sense. Given the above reductionist views of non-whites, black people are therefore seen as subjects who cannot stand on their own two feet and always need to be helped like children. They are viewed as dependent (on hand-outs and Western expertise). This advertisement challenges that stereotypical representation.

The verbal rhetoric “*we kept building*” furthermore suggests the post-apartheid national project of nation building despite opposition from the neo-colonialists. As pointed out earlier in this section, the A.N.C. led government’s national project sought to respond to the national question of under-development (of infrastructures and amenities) and poverty among black people.

The preceding verbal rhetoric indicates the underlying ideology of conservatism in South African society. In *Chapter Four*, the ideology of conservatism was described as a dimension of social semiotics which is concerned with the preservation of tradition. That is, the preservation of established values; practices; and, institutions in society (cf. Haywood 1998/2003). The conservative colonial ideological views of racism and the reductionism of non-whites is extremely pronounced among conservative white South Africans. However, the verbal rhetoric “*we kept building*” suggests the nationalist

ideological construct. Nationalism is described in *Chapter Four* as an ideological construct whereby a nation psychologically bonds together and differentiates people in the subconscious conviction (cf. Cannor 1994:93). In post-apartheid South Africa, the nationalist ideology suggests a national project in which the previously oppressed make assertions about their humanity and identity through the acquisition of independence and the building of a sovereign nation (cf. Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013:200). Regarding Thompson's (cf. 1990) strategies of expressing ideologies through verbal rhetoric, as discussed in *Chapter Four*, through the techniques of "narrativisation" (to express the identified conservative ideology). Narrativisation was described as an ideology that is in the form of stories, which recount the past and present of a society. The narrative/story of the verbal rhetoric describes the present state of affairs in South Africa, the underlying state of historical discontent between the opposition political parties and the ruling political party of the A.N.C.-led government. In addition, it narrates a reference to colonial, apartheid-era beliefs, where non-whites were seen as childish, and viewed as diminished subjects.

In summary, the above section analysed the sub-problem question raised in *Chapter Five*, which sought to identify what latent and manifest meanings are represented in the *2014 A.N.C. Commercial*. The manifest meaning suggests that the main South African opposition political parties are undermining the A.N.C. leadership. The latent meaning references the reductionist discourse crafted by Western powers, which continues to undermine non-whites in postcolonial, post-apartheid South Africa. Furthermore, the covert, underlining ideology, suggests a nationalist ideological construct.

The next section focuses on the social semiotic dimension, or "tool", of "representation" (cf. Hall 2013).

6.4 REPRESENTATION

In *Chapter Four*, representation was described as a meaning produced and exchanged between members of a specific society, in-order-to symbolise; depict; or, stand for something (cf. Hall 2013). The study now focusses on applying this "tool" to the analysis of the three A.N.C. political television commercials.

6.4.1 “My Vote”: “Representation”: A dimension of social semiotics

In the *My Vote* advertisement, the below extract indicates various latent and manifest meanings:

“I remember when I was still a young man, I was full of dreams, but those dreams were not fulfilled”

This extract uses verbal rhetoric in the form of the following metaphors: “*full of dreams*” and “*those dreams were not fulfilled*”. The use of the metaphor “*I was full of dreams*”, suggests the following manifest meaning: South Africans, particularly blacks, had hopes and aspirations; most especially at the dawn of South Africa’s democracy (post-1994). The verbal rhetoric, “*those dreams were not fulfilled*”, suggests the following manifest meaning: the hopes and aspirations of blacks were not fulfilled because of apartheid and colonialism (and the elements that go hand-in-hand with these two ideologies: racism; poverty; economic disparity). The apartheid system was intentionally crafted to exploit and oppress blacks. Many black South Africans were deprived of quality education and the human agency of socialisation and culturalisation, which all started in 1953 when the N.P. government enacted the Bantu Education Act of 1953, which was later renamed the Black Education Act of 1953. Under the Black Education Act, education was racially segregated and the provision of educational resources favoured white South Africans. A telling inequality in the educational system is the per student expenditure. In 1982, for example, the N.P. government spends only R146 on the basic education of a black student, while R1 211 was spent on the basic education of a white student, R771 on the basic education of an Indian student and R498 on that of a coloured student (cf. Simon, Banks & Iramirski 2003:98; Tihanyi 2006:47). This means that black students were deprived of a lifetime opportunity to succeed, and the ability to compete and develop for the benefit of society as a whole.

Furthermore, the unequal education, which gave preference white South Africans were educated in-order-to assume leadership positions (in society; the economy; politics; and the overall South African societal structure). By contrast, the apartheid education system was focused on producing a black society that could only occupy inferior positions, particularly in the economy, such as unskilled labour in which individuals take

on menial work. Furthermore, the aim of the unequal and racialised education system of South Africa was to protect the conditions of apartheid capitalism and the white interests of supremacy and dominance. The results of such an inequitable education continue to exist in South Africa.

The above verbal rhetoric suggests the use of the intentional tool of representation. *Chapter Four* also described representation as a speaker imposing his or her unique meaning through the careful selection of words to convey meaning (cf. Hall 2013:10). Thus, the latent meaning of this careful selection of words suggests that in pre-colonial African societies, blacks had agency; aspirations; dreams; culture; knowledge; language; life; morals; and religion. The underlying meaning of the verbal rhetoric “*I remember when I was still a young man, I was full of dreams*” opposes a world-view held largely by whites. This world-view is that pre-colonial African society lacked culture; civilisation; and Africans lived a savage and primitive life. It also contains the widely-held belief that it was Europeans who brought civilisation; rationality; and, modernity to Africa through colonialism and apartheid.

The verbal rhetoric states that “*those dreams were not fulfilled*”. The latent meaning here infers the adverse implications that the arrival of European settlers had for blacks in South Africa. According to Mbembe (2000:6-7), this involved the disruption of the indigenous self-governance of blacks by imposing the following violent forms of interference: firstly, the fact that the European settlers resorted to violence which enabled them to take over the blacks’ land and ultimately turn them into targets. Secondly, it legitimised the use of violence in-order-to establish the colonial order among blacks. Thirdly, the sustained use of violence was enforced to protect the permanence of the colonial institutions and culture among non-whites. The presence of the European settler in Africa can thus be seen as a moment of disturbance and interference in the way of life of blacks. It denied blacks humanity and citizenship, reducing them to objects, or Othered them. As such, South Africa as a colonial state became an institution of exploitation of black labour and repression. Coercion rather than the consent became the order of the colonial state (cf. Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013:87).

The above colonial development in South Africa, was devastating for blacks because it resulted in the loss of culture; heritage; identity; and a sense of dignity and pride in the black race. It led to a situation in which blacks were exploited and objectified; enslaved and traded in-order-to advance the interests of the white capitalistic system. This upheaval left blacks in a state of perpetual poverty and under-development. And black individuals became the invisible Other; an entertainer and an object of ridicule rather than a responsible citizen with the potential to contribute to the development of their people. Forms of oppression and enslavement (through segregation; miscegenation; the pass laws; and land re-distribution) destroyed the hopes, dreams and aspirations of blacks. They were expected to embrace white cultural forms of life such as religion, language, behaviour and modernity in the attempt to fit into the overall language and whiteness of Afrikaners.

The above verbal rhetoric also infers a cultural nationalist, and conservative, ideology devised by white supremacy to oppress and exploit non-whites. According to Haywood (cf. 2003:167), cultural nationalism can be described as an ideological construct that emphasises national self-affirmation. This also means a clearer sense of national pride and self-respect. With regards to the representation of conservative ideology, which believes that society is naturally hierarchical and characterised by social and economic inequality which manifest itself in wealth and social disparities (cf. Haywood 1998/2003). Both ideological positions (conservative and cultural nationalism) led to the culmination of the apartheid system in South Africa.

Furthermore, the above verbal extract refers to Thompson's (cf. 1990) ideological technique of "universalization". In other words, to legitimise racism, segregation, oppression and exploitation of non-whites through the institutional arrangement of the N.P. government (sustaining violence and segregation against blacks), which sought to promote the interests of white imperial colonial power. Therefore, the implication in the *2014 A.N.C. Commercial* is that black people can dream and pursue the fulfilment of their dreams, because of the A.N.C-led government. Of significance is the old black man narrating his story, as he was born as a first-hand witness to the horrors of apartheid and colonialism, but he can now reassure others that the time of violence and inequality is over. He speaks with an elderly authority.

This section analysed the sub-problem question raised in *Chapter Five*, which sought to identify the latent and manifest meanings represented in the *My Vote* commercial. The latter manifest meaning identified that the hopes and aspirations of blacks were not fulfilled during apartheid and colonialism. The former, latent meaning, infers the adverse, historical implications of the European settlers in South Africa for blacks in that it disrupted the indigenous self-governance of blacks by imposing violence and taking over their land and livestock. The latent meaning also suggests that the presence of European settlers among black people led to a loss of culture, heritage and identity, to a point where black people were exploited and regarded objects to be enslaved and traded to advance the interests of white capitalists. Lastly, the research assumption of referring to the underlying ideology, identified both cultural nationalism and conservative ideological constructs within the verbal text.

The next section deconstructs the *Woman Next Door* political television commercial.

6.4.2 The “*Woman Next Door*”: “Representation”: A social semiotic dimension

Chapter Four defines the social semiotic dimension of “representation” as meaning that is constructed by different social institutions such as religion; the media; education; and, political and business institutions (cf. Hall 2013:11).

*“There was a time when as a woman,
I could only dream of being where I am today”*

The verbal rhetoric of: “*There was a time*”; “*as a woman*”; “*I could only dream*” and “*where I am today*” possesses the following manifest meanings: “*There was a time*” suggests a metaphor of a historical era of colonialism and apartheid in South Africa; the verbal rhetoric “*as a woman*” suggests gender, women; and “*where I am today*” suggests the significant time in the lives of women in South Africa today (circa 2009).

The underlying latent meaning of “*there was a time*” and “*as a woman*”, suggests a difficult era of oppression within a patriarchal white South Africa, where women were deprived of economic; social; and political opportunities; that could have otherwise have advanced their livelihood. The underlying latent meaning of “*where I am today*” suggests a golden age of opportunities for previously oppressed Indian, coloured and black women, where women can now assume critical positions of power in the society,

be it in business, government or international institutions. By contrast, the underlying latent meaning of the verbal rhetoric opposes the long-standing patriarchal view that links women to unpaid work; marriage; family; home; kitchen; and children. It challenges the belief that women are physically and intellectually inferior compared to their male counterparts, and subordinate to male authority. These patriarchal, ideological views, for the most part justify the placement of women in lower management positions with limited authority and opportunity (cf. Crowley & Himmelweit 1992). These views are largely held by the religious community, cultural societies and the media, which play a significant part in reinforcing the stereotypes in question (the constructionist ideology as defined by Hall 2013). Hence the above binary opposition between men and women backs the significance gender equality reflected in Chapter 2, Section 9 (1) and (2) (1996) of the *South African Constitution*, which makes provision for “equality before the law”—that is, equality before legislation; equal rights; equal freedom; and, equal protection against all forms of unfair discrimination.

The above verbal rhetoric represents the ideological constructs of neo-colonialist form of liberal feminism, which is based on the belief that the human individual is important, and women as individuals therefore deserve equal treatment regardless of their gender (cf. Haywood 1998/2003). This refers to the Western culture of human rights, democracy and women’s rights. Thus, it can be said that the foregoing verbal rhetoric uses the rationalisation strategy of legitimising neo-colonialist forms of the liberal feminist ideology (cf. Thompson 1990). *Chapter Four* described rationalisation as a strategy of representing ideology in the verbal rhetoric as a technique that seeks to defend or justify a set of established social relations such as the significance of the equality of women in society as a whole. The implication of the above is that women under any other rule, such as that of the D.A. or F.F.P, for instance, more especially black South African women, would not be afforded the above-mentioned opportunities of employment, education and running small businesses.

To recap: The above section analysed the sub-problem question raised in *Chapter Five*, which sought to identify whether the latent and manifest meaning is represented in the *Woman Next Door* election campaign television commercial. The analysis identified the

following manifest meaning of the above verbal rhetoric: it suggests the revival of the aspirations of black women, in particular under the A.N.C.-led government in South Africa, in that women have access to both economic and social opportunities that they were deprived of under apartheid. By contrast, the latent meaning of the above verbal rhetoric opposes the long-standing patriarchal view that links women to unpaid work, marriage, family, kitchen, children, and the fact that they are physically and intellectually weak compared to their male counterparts. This analysis of the above verbal rhetoric successfully addressed the sub-problem question raised in *Chapter Five*, which described the underlying ideological environment in which the verbal rhetoric was produced. In line with *Chapter Five*, the research assumption of this study successfully deconstructed the underlying ideology of the above verbal rhetoric, which suggests the neo-colonialist liberal feminist ideology of the social environment in which the verbal rhetoric was produced.

The next section focuses on representation in the *2014 A.N.C. Commercial*.

6.4.3 The “2014 A.N.C. Commercial”: “Representation”: A social semiotic dimension

The discussion on the interpretation of data focuses on the second dimension of the social semiotic, namely the representation of the *2014 A.N.C. Commercial*.

“So they say this country is going backwards”

The foregoing verbal rhetoric, “backwards”, suggests the manifest meaning of South Africa regressing in terms of governance and upholding the constitutional democracy founded in 1994. For instance, during the 2014 general election campaign, the former leader of the D.A. Ms. Helen Zille admitted that post-1994, South Africa was a better democratic country, but under the A.N.C. leadership of President Jacob Zuma, South Africa had gone backwards as a result of poor governance and the weak economy (Sapa 2014). At the time of this advertisement, the South African economy was trailing behind 1.5 percent economic growth owing to increased labour unrest; unemployment was 24 percent; and youth unemployment of those between the ages of 18 and 24 was 64.8 percent (Vollgraaff 2014).

The underlying latent meaning of the verbal rhetoric “*backwards*” also suggests the colonial reductionism of black people—that is, black people are resistant to progress and development and therefore, cannot be expected to lead society successfully. A telling example was the proposed South African Protection of State Information Bill which would give the state powers to classify information as secret, and leaking such information could lead to a prison sentence of 25 years. The opposition political parties, media practitioners such as journalists and civic organisations such as religious organisations expressed concern that the proposed Bill would be used to suppress journalists’ and media reports about government corruption and human rights abuses. Other critics saw the Bill as a sign of South Africa sliding backwards towards the repressive rule of the apartheid era (Makgoba 2011).

The underlying ideology of the foregoing verbal rhetoric suggests the representation of the conservative ideological construct. According to Haywood (cf. 1998/2003), conservative ideology is concerned with the preservation of established values, such as the position of white superiority in the social milieu, while black people occupy the position of subjects in the social strata. Thus, given these established values, conservatives maintain that black people cannot run a country successfully – that is, they lack the know-how to. The foregoing representation of the conservative ideology in the above verbal rhetoric suggests the use of a fragmentation ideological strategy. In *Chapter Four*, it was mentioned that Thompson (cf. 1990) describes the ideological technique of fragmentation as the positioning of divisions between groups of people that characterise disunity.

To recap: This section analysed the sub-problem question raised in *Chapter Five*, which sought to identify what latent and manifest meanings were represented in the 2014 *A.N.C. Commercial*. The manifest meaning referenced a South Africa which is regressing in terms of its governance and underperforming economy. While the latent meaning inferred a historical colonial view of undermining black leadership in positions of power. With regards to the covert ideology the rhetoric suggested a conservatism.

The above analysis of the dimension of representation as a tool of the social semiotic research framework was applied to the *My Vote*, the *Woman Next Door* and the 2014

A.N.C. Commercial. The above verbal rhetoric of the *My Vote* television political commercial provides a narrative (story) representing a personal first-hand experience of the brutality of colonialism and apartheid in South Africa. The verbal rhetoric of the *Woman Next Door* television political commercial provides a narrative concerned with the representation of the female equality and economic empowerment in post-apartheid South Africa. In contrast to the *My Vote* and *Woman Next Door* commercials, the verbal rhetoric of the *2014 A.N.C. Commercial* adopts a critical stance towards the opposition political parties' that are against the A.N.C. led government.

The next section deals with the social semiotic dimension of modality.

6.5 MODALITY

In *Chapter Four*, modality was described as a dimension, or “tool” of social semiotics which referred to the specific meaning-making process. This process makes use of different modalities; namely, low; median; and high modality to express the social reality/ies in the context the cultural text/s (cf. Kress & Van Leeuwen 1996; Van Leeuwen 2005). These channels and medium of modality are significant in the representation of reality, credibility or the truth in a media text such as a political television commercial. In the analysis of the 2009 *My Vote* and the *Woman Next Door* A.N.C. advertisements, the verbal rhetoric does not use any of the low, median or high modality characteristics as described by Van Leeuwen (cf. 2005). However, the *2014 A.N.C. Commercial* does demonstrate the use of modalities:

“And we will continue to do more, over the next five years we will invest more in infrastructure”

The above verbal extract suggests the following manifest meaning: the verbal rhetoric “we will” suggests the median modality. Median modality means a varying degree of determination. The “we” suggests the A.N.C. political party, while the “we will invest more in infrastructure” suggests a commitment to the national projects in post-apartheid South Africa, which represents a degree of determination by the A.N.C.-led government in redressing the inequalities inherited from apartheid and colonialism (for instance, the redistribution of national resources, such as land and mining rights; and eradicating

poverty and economic and educational inequalities among blacks in South Africa). The manifest meaning is directly in line with the South African *National Development Plan Vision for 2030* (2011). According to this *National Development Plan* (2011:46), the South African government plans to invest in economic and social infrastructures, in areas such as public transport, such as a commuter rail system; a road transport system; a Durban-Gauteng freight corridor; and a new coal railway line that will unlock the coal deposits in the Waterberg area). It also plans to upgrade the existing coal lines in Richards Bay and the iron ore line in Saldanha Bay. In addition, the government intends developing new water reservoirs to supply urban and industrial centres through the *Umzimvubu* Catchment Area in the *Umzimvubu* River in KwaZulu-Natal. The government economic infrastructure development plan also includes the construction of infrastructure that will import liquefied natural gas (*National Development Plan* 2011).

The underlying denotation of “*invest more on infrastructure*”, suggests development and efficiency. The notion of infrastructure development suggests the re-organisation of land in the hands of private developers who comprise foreign investors such as European white investors. The verbal rhetoric of infrastructure development ideologically means dispossessing black South Africans in favour of foreign investors, which would result in blacks becoming the cheap labourers of the white investors (cf. Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013:86). A system not unlike that of apartheid and colonialism. In other words, such infrastructure and development suggests transforming South African society according to the (capital and industrial) demands, and expectations, of Europe and the West. This is therefore evidence that black people still do not have agency in post-apartheid South Africa, and as such, South Africa is itself subject to the demands of neo-colonial liberals. Therefore, the extricated verbal rhetoric implies a liberal capitalist ideology, which emphasises the creation of business opportunities; investment opportunities in private property; and increased investment in industrial development through minimum government intervention (cf. Haywood 2003:47). As mentioned in *Chapter Four*, Thompson (cf.1990) describes the “dissimulation” ideological technique used in verbal rhetoric, which conceals its purpose by deflecting attention away from the larger and looming crises (for instance, of increasing government spending of over R1.03 trillion

[Circa 2016]; and increasing government debt from 31.3 percent in 2009 to 47.10 percent in 2014).

In summary, the above section analysed the sub-problem question raised in *Chapter Five* which sought to determine what latent and manifest meanings are represented in the *2014 A.N.C. Commercial*. With regards to the manifest meaning of the verbal rhetoric, the words suggest increased investment in economic and social infrastructures. While the latent meaning suggests development and efficiency. But according to European and Western capitalist standards and demands. This includes the reorganisation of land into private ownership. The analysis of the above verbal rhetoric successfully addressed the sub-problem question raised in *Chapter Five* and to the deconstruction of the underlying ideological meaning, which was determined, and argued to be a liberal capitalist ideological construct.

The next section focuses on the fourth social semiotic dimension, or “tool”, of genre.

6.6 GENRE

In *Chapter Four*, genre was identified as a collection of verbal rhetoric with a common and unique set of characteristics that governs the expression of that rhetoric (cf. van Leeuwen 2005). In *Chapter Three*, the following types of verbal rhetoric used in the political television advertisements were discussed, and included different appeals: emotional; fantasy or thematic; nostalgic; fear; ethical; informational; and policy. Owing to the length of this chapter, the discussion below deals only with the emotional and policy appeal of the three sampled political television commercials in this study.

6.6.1 “Emotional” appeal

Chapter Three described emotional appeal as a verbal rhetoric technique used in election advertisements to evoke different feelings such as escape; fantasy; fear; guilt; insecurity; and, nostalgia among the electorate (cf. Agres *et al.* 1990:8). Emotional appeal as a type of genre displays certain types of emotions such as happiness or sadness. Thus, the following extract in the *My Vote* political commercial suggests the following emotional appeal:

“When Madiba was released, that was the beginning of an exciting road, to a better life for all”

The above verbal rhetoric, *“When Madiba was released”*, manifestly references the release of Mr. Nelson Mandela from the Victor Verster Prison in 1990. The verbal rhetoric, namely *“That was the beginning of an exciting road”* and *“To a better life for all”*, also suggests a positive sentiment regarding the beginning of the new democratic dispensation for South Africa. Furthermore, it also suggests that Mr Mandela saved South Africa from a civil war that could have occurred at the fall of the apartheid. He later served as a president of South Africa after the 1994 democratic elections, with Mr Thabo Mbeki as his deputy president. Under President Mbeki’s administration, South Africa enjoyed a robust economic growth of 4.1 percent, and the country occupied a stronger position on the international stage. For example, South Africa joined the Group of 20 Countries (henceforth, the G20), an international league of developed economies of the world and the New Partnership for Africa’s Development (henceforth, N.E.P.A.D.). Furthermore, the lives of millions of South Africans improved significantly under President Thabo Mbeki’s leadership. In a study by Statistics South Africa (2009) from 1998 to 2008, South African households with a middle-class standard of living improved (for instance, having tap water and a flushing toilet within a residence; to having electricity and even owning a landline). These achievements suggest the emotional appeal of hope; happiness; and a positive outlook for South Africa.

However, the latent meaning of the above verbal rhetoric suggests that the road has not been as exciting as people thought it would be. South Africa under the leadership of President Mbeki painted a grim picture of a country faced with numerous challenges such as the H.I.V./AIDS crisis and higher levels of poverty. The H.I.V./AIDS pandemic reached crisis point because of President’s Mbeki’s denial and critique of whether H.I.V. causes AIDS. His controversial political stance on the pandemic led to the delay of the distribution of Antiretroviral (A.R.V.) drugs, which could have saved lives of over 300 000 South Africans (Boseley 2008). Despite all the successes, poverty and under-development increased among South Africans under President Mbeki. According to a study, *Poverty Trends in South Africa: An Examination of Absolute Poverty Between*

2006 and 2011, (Statistics South Africa 2014), at the time of this 2009 advertisement, 15 million South Africans were living below the poverty line.

Although post-apartheid South Africa still faces persistent poverty, particularly among the previously marginalised black South Africans, in early 2000, the South African government established a policy programme referred to as Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment (henceforth, B.B.B.E.E. and abbreviated further to B.E.E.), and commonly known as Black Economic Empowerment (henceforth, B.E.E.). The Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment Act of 2003 (Sec 2) sought increased economic participation from the previously marginalised groups, namely blacks, coloureds and Indians in the areas of employment equity; skills development; ownership; management control; socio-economic development; and, preferential procurement. The aim of the B.E.E. policy programme was to harness economic and social transformation in South Africa. In other words—to provide South Africa with a growth strategy to provide previously marginalised groups economic and social opportunities which were previously denied. Thus, B.E.E. can be seen as an attempt to redress the imbalances and inequalities of the past, caused by the colonial European imperialists in the late 1800s with the dispossession of land and the introduction of apartheid in the 1940s.

Although B.E.E. has moral intentions of redressing the inequalities of the past, it has not been without criticism and flaws under the A.N.C.-led government. Critics argue that it does not encourage black South Africans to work hard, take risks and build their own companies. Rather it facilitates business fronting (or tokenism) and the transfer of company shares to blacks (cf. Harrison 2009). B.E.E. has also been accused of focusing on changing the racial composition of existing enterprises rather than encouraging entrepreneurship among blacks, who could start and build businesses to create employment opportunities. B.E.E. has also been accused of encouraging corruption through preferential procurement commonly known as “tenderpreneurship”, that is, a few black elites who are politically connected have access to state tenders (Sibalukhulu 2012).

Thus, it can be said that post-apartheid A.N.C. leadership did not fully challenge the foreign domination and exploitation of the neo-colonialist institutions such as multinational companies that invested in South Africa, and there has been little distribution of wealth to the economically marginalised.

The above verbal extract (rhetoric) of the emotional appeal suggests the underlying representation of the socialist and liberal ideological construct, which is concerned with minimum or no government intervention in the creation of a favourable economic and social environment for the upward mobility of the citizens (cf. Haywood 1998/2003). In the face of the underlying challenges of poverty in South Africa, it could be said the foregoing verbal rhetoric employs the dissimulation ideological strategy, which seeks to conceal the underlying challenges and deflect attention from the core problems in South African society (cf. Thompson 1990).

Like the *My Vote* advertisement, the *Woman Next Door* uses the genre convention of the “emotional” appeal:

*“This Bed and Breakfast belongs to me,
I help other women provide for their families.”*

The manifest meaning of the verbal rhetoric “*This Bed and Breakfast belongs to me*” suggests a positive sentiment reflecting the excitement of a woman who can own a small bed and breakfast (B&B) business. Thus, the verbal rhetoric suggests the narrator’s sense of pride in creating employment opportunities for other women in her community.

The underlying latent meaning suggests that women are taking charge of their own lives, and are becoming and aspiring to being independent and free (from their male counterparts). It further suggests a liberal ideological construct. In *Chapter Four* it was argued that because liberal ideology emphasises the creation of business opportunities in a society, it is a capitalist ideology (cf. Haywood 2003:47). In the same vein, the verbal rhetoric promotes small to medium businesses, a distinct move away from the socialist ideology (which is concerned with the abolition of private property). The verbal extract also employs the dissimulation ideological strategy, which aims to conceal the

very real socio-economic problems and deflect from serious, and as yet, unresolved issues for black South African women (cf. Thompson 1990). It is a sad fact that black women during apartheid suffered the most. The rhetoric also provides “narrativization”: a story of a black woman who took advantage of an empowerment initiative introduced by the A.N.C.-led government to start a small B&B business. This in turn created employment opportunities for other women. The underlying meaning reinforces female empowerment and independence.

Unlike the *My Vote* and the *Woman Next Door* advertisements, the *2014 A.N.C. Commercial* uses the following verbal rhetoric to express the “manipulative” emotional appeal:

“Now South Africa is in better place than it was twenty years ago.”

The phrases “*Now South Africa is in a better place*” and “*than it was twenty years ago*” suggests the following manifest meanings: significant achievements of the government since 1994. These achievements include: increased access to housing, and electricity; (clean and running) water; roads; schools; and social security grants for the poor. It also implies an improved economic infrastructure, such as the production of the Gautrain (2010).⁶⁶

However, the above verbal rhetoric does not acknowledge the following latent (meaning) challenges in South African society: the high levels of unemployment among the youth; housing shortages; the under-performing economy, such as the lack of economic growth (Youth unemployment soars ... 2014); violent crime; corruption in government institutions and among politicians; violent service delivery protests over poor government services (such as the lack of water and/or electricity); and the housing shortages experienced by the poor and marginalised (Grant 2014); the xenophobic violent attacks on non-South African blacks from different parts of the African continent

⁶⁶ It also includes: the expansion of road networks (2010); participation in international sporting tournaments such as the Rugby World Cup (2011), the Cricket World Cup (2012), and the Soccer World Cup (2010), not to mention the successful hosting of the F.I.F.A. Soccer World Cup in 2010.

(Patel 2013); and the massacre of 34 striking miners at the Marikana Platinum Mine (Marinovich 2012).⁶⁷

At the time of this 2014 advertisement, South Africa was experiencing deteriorating race relations, as a result of increased racism; structural and institutional racism; all of which is disadvantaging the majority of black South Africans economically. This is particularly affecting the black youth, commonly known as the “Born-free Generation”.⁶⁸ This generation of young people increasingly doubts the credibility and relevance of the peaceful transition from apartheid to the new democratic leadership in 1994. For instance, they accuse Mr. Mandela of being a “sell out of black people”, that is, selling South Africa to the white neo-liberal capitalists during the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (henceforth, C.O.D.E.S.A.) negotiations in 1991 and 1992. These negotiations are seen by the “Born-frees” as being “compromised and a failed deal of economic emancipation” for black South Africans (Modisane 2014). However, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (henceforth, T.R.C.),⁶⁹ envisioned reconciliation among South Africans through “telling the truth” (Msimang 2014). But the T.R.C. is commonly thought to have been undermined by white South Africans (cf. Msimang 2014; Meintjies 2013). Black people regarded the T.R.C. as a failure in that the majority of white perpetrators refused to participate in the amnesty proceedings, while the majority of black victims were encouraged to forgive even before an apology was offered by the white perpetrators. Under normal circumstances, the apology is offered, and forgiveness is acknowledged. Given the space created after 1994 for reconciliation, white South Africans refused to utilise the T.R.C. as a space to apologise for crimes perpetrated against humanity (Meintjies 2013). These disconcerting voices, now emerging from the “Born-free Generation” in many ways are responding to the perpetual structural racism; social and

⁶⁷ Owned by a London-based company, Lonmin, in Rustenburg, in the North-West Province of South Africa.

⁶⁸ The so-called “Born-free Generation” indicates those people born into a democratic South Africa, who never had first-hand experience of the National Party apartheid policy, who enjoy all the privileges that come with democracy such as the right to vote for a political representative of their choice, the right to live, and be educated in the field of their choice without fear. This is a generation of young people that enjoys privileges that their parents were deprived because of the apartheid.

⁶⁹ The T.R.C. was set up by the South African Government of National Unity in 1996 to help heal South Africans and bring about reconciliation between blacks and whites by uncovering the truth about human rights violations that had occurred during apartheid. Victims and perpetrators gave testimony.

economic inequality; conceived and implemented by the apartheid system. Wall of which are still evident in many sections of South African society, be it in social spaces such as schools, universities and workplaces, and/or economic spaces such as business. Even with the advertisement produced in 2014, there is an underlying latent meaning that suggests an emerging new black conscious movement. These young black South Africans are demanding changes in the status quo, economically and in social institutions, such as tertiary education.

The above verbal rhetoric suggests the underlying ideological meaning of a nationalist ideological construct. It was stated in *Chapter Four* that nationalism is regarded as an ideology that regards the nation as the central pillar that fosters the cohesion of society, bound together by a particular set of governing principles that give rise to socio-cultural meanings, social relations and political structures belonging to a political organisation or national government institution which promotes, say, the values of self-government (cf. Haywood 2003:155).

Although the preceding verbal rhetoric suggests the nationalist ideology, the underlying verbal rhetoric is the use of the ideological technique of dissimulation, which is described as an ideological strategy that uses concealed and subtle verbal rhetoric with the intention of deflecting attention from the above challenges that South African society is facing (cf. Thompson 1990).

The following section focuses on the second type of genre, namely policy appeal in the context of verbal rhetoric.

6.6.2 Policy appeal

In *Chapter Three*, policy appeal is described as a genre that focuses on specific issues that either negatively or positively affect the political, economic and security of the country rather than the image of the political party (cf. Newman 1999; McNair 2011). The following analysis of the *My Vote* revealed that the use of “policy” appeal:

“We have seen people receive clean running water”.

The verbal extract uses repetition of the rhetoric, “We” to suggest the A.N.C. political party. It further repeats the rhetorical phrase “seen people”. This infers that the A.N.C.

party sees black people (and all those previously marginalised). In other words it makes the invisible object, or Other, visible and instead of objectifying these individuals, it makes them the Subject. This is the exact opposite of colonialism and apartheid. It therefore also gives certainty to the previously disadvantaged people of South Africa, by giving them agency and making them visible it further suggests that the Other is no longer at the margins of society, but the centre. The verbal rhetoric of “*receive clean running water*” suggests that the A.N.C. is concerned about the (politicised) issue of water in South Africa. The issue of (running) water is based on international and national practices. At international level, South Africa is a member of the United Nations (henceforth, U.N.), and one of the countries that adopted the U.N. Millennium Declaration in 2000 that committed to help and achieve the following goals by 2015: to eradicate extreme hunger and poverty. Thus, in relation to the above verbal rhetoric of increased access to clean water, the advertisement demonstrates the international mandate of the U.N. M.D.G. (Goal 1), to eradicate hunger; poverty; and provide access to running water (and flushing toilets) among South Africans (M.D.G.: Country Report 2009/2010). At national level, the South Africa Government’s Department of Water Affairs and Forestry (henceforth, D.W.A.F.) implemented the policy framework referred to as the Free Basic Water Policy of 2001. According to this policy (2009), the government is expected to provide free water for poor households (up to six thousand litres of water per month; from the local governments, such as the City of Johannesburg or the City of Tshwane).

Thus, the latent meaning of the verbal rhetoric implies (that at the time of this advertisement, 2009) 89.6 percent of South African households had access to piped water either inside or outside the house in the yard or from communal water taps (Living Conditions of Households in S.A. 2008/2009). The foregoing verbal rhetoric, “*receive clean running water*”, however, does not address the hidden ideological meaning of access to water.

The underlying ideological meaning of the above verbal rhetoric suggests the following: firstly, it suggests that receiving water through a tap in the house, in the yard or in the communal street water tap does not count as having free water. Secondly, the verbal

rhetoric of increased access to clean running water can be seen as a politicised issue, in that 8.8 percent (about 4.5 million) of South Africans do not have access to drinking water (Living Conditions of Households in South Africa 2008/2009), while the A.N.C. claims that there is increased access to water. Thirdly, increased access to water suggests that water is a symbolic source of life, which means a better quality of life, improved health, and household cleanliness. Fourthly, water suggests a recreational element such as swimming and landscaping.

The above verbal rhetoric suggests the underlying ideological construct of socialism. According to Haywood (cf. 1998/2003), socialist ideology is government intervention through the redistribution of wealth such as basic social services—housing, water, education and health to overcome inequality and poverty among black people. The above extract uses this narrativisation technique of presenting the ideology of socialism in verbal rhetoric by recounting the past achievements of the A.N.C.-led government in story form (cf. Thompson 1990).

As in the *My Vote* election campaign commercial, the following extract from the *Woman Next Door* election campaign commercial represents the policy appeal verbal rhetoric.

“Will the government create more opportunities for my business to thrive? Most importantly, will we see more women in business leadership?”

The above extract suggests a verbal rhetorical appeal towards policy changes in South African society, “*Will the government create more opportunities?*” and “*Will we see more women in business leadership?*” The preceding extracts contain rhetorical questions that exhort the South African government to consider creating an enabling and thriving social and economic environment for women, particularly black, Indian and coloured women to succeed in the South African economic environment.

Hence, the manifest meaning of the above verbal rhetoric suggests that there is a need for women who were previously marginalised to increasingly participate in the economy through small business initiatives in order to create income and employment for other women; the employment of more women in the positions of executive management; increased participation in both basic and higher education; and increased participation

in professions that were previously perceived to be ideal for men such as engineering, construction, finance, science and technology. At the time of this advertisement, 3.3 percent of women of working age in South Africa were involved in small businesses that were non-value added tax (henceforth, V.A.T.) registered businesses compared to men constituting 3.6 percent (Statistics South Africa 2009: Survey of Employers and Self-Employed 2012). However, women in formal business sector are underrepresented. A study by the Businesswomen Association (henceforth, B.W.A.), (B.W.A. South African Women in Corporate Leadership census 2009) revealed that 318 women occupied executive positions in the Johannesburg Stock Exchange (henceforth, J.S.E.) listed companies; 7.8 percent were C.E.O.s and board chairpersons; 14.3 percent were directors; and 25.3 percent were executive managers. In terms of race, the B.W.A. report revealed that between 2006 and 2008, black directors in the J.S.E. listed companies constituted 57.3 percent of directors, while black executive managers constituted 29.7 percent compared to a large proportion of white executive managers who constituted 55.5 percent.

Although there are gender disparities in South Africa between men and women, since 1994, the A.N.C.-led government has responded to the unequal gender representation by creating space for South African women to participate in the economic structures of South African society as a whole. At the time of this advertisement, government had initiated different programmes. For example, the Office on the Status of Women (henceforth, O.S.W.), the Commission on Gender Equality (henceforth, C.G.E.) and the National Government Department of Women, Children and People with Disabilities were created to respond to both the economic and social needs of South African women.

However, the latent meaning of the above verbal rhetoric suggests gender equality—that is, women are equal to men in that they can own businesses and pursue professions that are perceived to be predominantly male dominated. The verbal rhetoric opposes a long-standing view that women are physically and intellectually weak compared to their male counterparts. Furthermore, women are subordinate to male authority both in private and public space. In private, women are ideologically seen as being the subjects of their fathers, husbands and brothers. In contrast to women, men in

public space are seen to be dominant decision makers in politics, business and economics. Thus, the foregoing binary opposition between men and women backs the significance of gender equality, in which Chapter 2, Section 9 (1) and (2) of the *South African Constitution* makes provision for equality before the law. That is, equality before legislation, equal rights, equal freedom and equal protection against all forms of unfair discrimination.

However, the ideological meaning of the empowerment of women in the South African society, suggests the less dependence on their husbands, sexual violence against women, increased household income, increased household purchasing power, improved standards of living, independent decision making regarding a chosen career path among young women, increased access to education, improved health, finance, and most importantly, maximising family stability in terms of caring for the family both financially and emotionally.

The underlying policy appeal of the above verbal rhetoric suggests the liberal feminism ideology which is based on individual freedom and, equality, regardless of gender, and the creation of both social and economic opportunities for women (cf. Haywood 1998/2003). The above verbal rhetoric uses the unification ideological technique (cf. Thompson 1990), which suggests the collective unity and identification of women in the face of marginalisation by the patriarchal society.

The policy appeal is also represented in the following verbal rhetoric of the *2014 A.N.C. Commercial*:

“Give more families free access to health care.”

The above verbal rhetoric represents the policy appeal of what the A.N.C.-led government intends to achieve in future. The manifest meaning of the above verbal rhetoric suggests that the A.N.C.-led government intends to achieve policy objectives through the N.D.P., a national project that seeks to respond to the national question of the eradication of diseases and access to better health care. At the time of this advertisement, according to the *Twenty-Year Review: South Africa 1994-2014*, the A- N.C.-led government was considering the National Health Insurance (N.H.I.) policy

which would enable all South Africans, regardless of their socio-economic standing, to have universal access to efficient, affordable and quality health care.⁷⁰

The underlying latent meaning of the N.H.I. policy is to eradicate the inequitable health system that privileges the few and well-off South Africans to access quality and expensive health services, while the poor are denied quality health service because of the cost of private health care. The underlying significance of the N.H.I. is that the universal access to quality health care produces a healthy and productive society and longer life expectancy, which benefit the country's economy. Furthermore, the N.H.I. would save money, particularly for the poor who are expected to pay for expensive medical bills in private health care centres.

The foregoing verbal rhetoric of policy appeal responds to the ideology of modern liberals who advocate for increased government intervention such as spending in public infrastructure and social welfare for the poor (cf. Haywood 1998/2003). The above verbal rhetoric also suggests the use of the ideological technique of unification. According to Thompson (cf. 1990), the unification ideological technique suggests the use or rather the representation of the collective effort towards the future of the society. Thus, increased access to health and improved economic infrastructure in this regard would suggest a better future for South Africa.

In summary, the above section analysed the sub-problem question raised in *Chapter Five*, which sought to identify whether the latent and manifest meaning is represented in the three television election campaign commercials analysed in this study. The above analysis identified the following manifest meaning of the above verbal rhetoric, which possesses emotional and policy appeals: For instance, the manifest meaning of the *My Vote* verbal rhetoric represents the underlying emotional appeal, which suggests that Mr Mandela saved South Africa from a civil war that could have occurred at the fall of the apartheid, while the latent meaning suggests that the road has not been as exciting as has been made out, in that over 15 million South Africans are living on the poverty line.

⁷⁰ After December 2015, the South African Government Department of Health released a White Paper on the National Health Insurance (Minister Aaron Motsoaledi releases White Paper on National Health Insurance ... 2015).

As in the *My Vote* commercial, the manifest meaning of the *Woman Next Door* television political commercial suggests a positive sentiment about women's ability to own small businesses such as B&B. The latent meaning of the above verbal rhetoric suggests women are taking charge of their own lives and their survival is no longer dependent on their male counterparts. The *2014 A.N.C. Commercial–English* campaign represents the genre of emotional appeal in its verbal rhetoric of the success of South Africa since 1994. The underlying latent meaning of the verbal rhetoric suggests that South Africa is faced with the critical challenges of unemployment and poverty among its people.

The above three A.N.C. political television commercials use the genre of policy appeal in their verbal rhetoric, which includes varying policy appeals such as increased access to water (in the *My Vote*), the creation of more business opportunities for women (in the *Woman Next Door*) and increased access to health care (in the *2014 A.N.C. Commercial*).

In light of the varying genres, the above verbal rhetoric successfully addressed the sub-problem question raised in *Chapter Five*, which describes the underlying ideological environment in which the verbal rhetoric was produced. In line with *Chapter Five* the research assumption of this study successfully deconstructed the underlying ideology of the above verbal rhetoric, which suggests the socialist, nationalist and liberal feminist ideological constructs.

The above discussion focused on the dimension of genre in the social semiotic approach. The next section deals with the last dimension of the social semiotic approach, namely myth.

6.7 MYTH

In *Chapter Four*, myth was described as a common belief shared by a specific group (or community) of people with a particular political or social concern, expression or an issue a combined issue, which brings them together. Myth can also give events a specific social meaning, thereby providing context (cf. Combs 1979). This section analyses the different types and the “master” myth, and the “us” and the “them” myth, which

contribute towards the creation of the social meaning of verbal rhetoric (within the media text).

6.7.1 “Master” myth

To reiterate, in *Chapter Four*, the master myth was described as a broad, overarching rhetorical myth that constitutes the collective consciousness of an entire society which, *inter alia*, forms the national values shared by overall society. *Chapter Four* explained the different types of master myth, including the foundational myth and altruistic democracy myth (cf. Nimmo & Combs 1980:27). In the analysis of the 2009 and 2014 A.N.C. political television commercials, the following extracts represents the underlying master myth.

“Over the past fifteen years, we have seen how people’s lives have improved”

The above verbal rhetoric from the *My Vote* television political commercial, namely “*Over the past fifteen years*” suggests 15 years in which the A.N.C.-led government has been in power since 1994. The verbal rhetoric, “*we have seen how people’s lives have improved*”, thus suggests that in these 15 years of A.N.C. rule, the lives of millions of black South Africans in particular have changed significantly. The manifest meaning of the above verbal rhetoric suggests that, at the time of this advertisement, the number of black South African households with a middle-class standard of living—that is, living in a formal house, with a water tap inside the house or residence, with a flush toilet inside the house or residence, with electricity as the main source of lighting and cooking, a household member with a cell phone—had increased significantly from 23 percent in 1998 to 27 percent in 2008 as a result of the A.N.C.’s R.D.P. policies. In addition, the lives of South Africans have improved because of the distribution of social security grants such as the following: pensioners’ security grants; the care dependency grant for a parent who takes care of a severely disabled child who requires permanent care or a support service; a child support grant aimed primarily at children below the age of 15 whose parents are either unemployed or who are employed but earn less than R2 300 per month; a disability grant for recipients between the ages of 18 and 60, who are disabled and do not have an alternative; the war veteran grant for disabled recipients

who fought for South Africa in the World War II and the Korean War; and the foster child grant intended for foster parents who are legally placed to take care the children (South African Social Security Agency 2015). At the time of this advertisement, the South African National Treasury Budget Review (2009) had reported an increase of the number of recipients of social security grants, which was primarily driven by the expansion of the child support grants of over eight million and other grants to over 13 million; compared to 2004, where there were over three million recipients of child support grants and over eight million other social security grant recipients.

The latent meaning of the verbal rhetoric, “*we have seen how people’s lives have improved*”, suggests that the underlying socio-economic inequalities experienced largely by black South Africans daily are not revealed. A study of *Poverty Trends in South Africa: An Examination of Absolute Poverty Between 2006 and 2011* by Statistics South Africa (2014) between 2006 and 2011, indicated that at the time of this advertisement in 2009, 15 million South Africans were living below the poverty line, while 23 million South Africans were living on the poverty line. Thus, the above figures are in stark contrast to the established master myth in the A.N.C. that the lives of South Africans, particularly blacks, have improved significantly since 1994.

The underlying latent meaning of the above verbal rhetoric, “*we have seen people’s lives have improved*”, implicitly suggests that the economic empowerment, upward social and economic mobility of the majority of black South Africans, is the result of the A.N.C.’s struggle to liberate South Africans from the oppressive apartheid regime, from the poverty and underdevelopment prevalent among blacks.

Another master myth is expressed in the verbal rhetoric of the *Woman Next Door* and the 2014 A.N.C. Commercial:

“Vote for a better life for all, Vote A.N.C.”

The above verbal rhetoric of these two election campaign commercials suggests the following manifest meaning: a slogan for the A.N.C., which has been used in all the national and local government electioneering campaigns of 1994, 1999, 2004, 2009 and at the time of the advertisement in 2014. The party’s political slogan “*a better life for all*”

was coined by Stanley Greensburg and Frank Greer, the U.S. political advisers to the A.N.C.'s 1994 election campaign (Thebe 2014). Thus, the underlying latent meaning of the above verbal rhetoric succinctly captures the mandate and vision of the A.N.C. among the electorate. The verbal rhetoric "*a better life for all*" also means an improved standard of living among the poor and marginalised. However, behind the verbal rhetoric of this slogan there are severe socio-economic hardships such as, poverty, high levels of unemployment, the lack of housing, corruption, crime and violence and structural racism are affecting a vast majority of South Africans particularly blacks which led to widespread protests in South African universities.⁷¹

The above verbal rhetoric on the other hand, suggests the underlying ideology of modern liberalism, which advocates for increased government intervention for the poor through welfare programmes (cf. Haywood 1998/2003). Regarding the above representation of the ideological construct of modern liberalism, it can be said that the dissimulation ideological strategy is used in the representation of modern liberalism ideology in the above verbal rhetoric. According to Thompson (cf. 1990), the dissimulation ideological strategy uses concealed and subtle verbal rhetoric to deflect attention from existing challenges. Thus, with regard to the above myth, it can be said it is deflecting attention from the real social and economic challenges that many poor black people are faced with in the townships and villages of South Africa.

⁷¹ In 2015, a year after the 2014 general elections, South African institutions of higher education the University of Cape Town and Rhodes University embarked on months of mass protests demanding the removal of the Cecil Rhodes statues on the university campuses, and a change of the name of Rhodes University—the *Rhodes-Must-Fall* campaign. The protests were followed by nationwide protests demanding the removal of all colonial and apartheid statues (Munusamy 2015). The *Rhodes-Must-Fall* protest was followed by the *Fees-Must-Fall* protests, which started at the University of Witwatersrand and spread throughout South African institutions of higher learning, after universities had announced they would raise tuition fees by up to 20 percent, which means the academic exclusion of the majority of black students (Baloyi & Isaacs 2015). The *Fees-Must-Fall* protest movement escalated to the *Afrikaans-Must-Fall* protest campaigns at the universities of Pretoria, the Free State and Stellenbosch where the medium of instruction is predominantly Afrikaans (Loots 2016; Spaul & Shepard 2016). Underlying the above mass protest at South African universities are the unequal and parallel systems that manifest themselves in the universities, which disadvantage, exclude and render black people invisible in the areas of knowledge production, innovation and research. The above protests are a response to the perpetual socio-economic inequalities and frustrations experienced particularly by black South Africans, despite 20 years of democracy, because of the lack of transformation, the legacy of racial segregation and the preservation of the status quo of white supremacy and black inferiority.

As pointed out earlier, myth as a dimension of the social semiotic approach uses different types of myth. The next section deals with the second type of myth, namely the “us” and “them” myth.

6.7.2 The “us” and the “them” myth

In *Chapter Four*, the “us” and “them” myth was described as sets of verbal rhetoric that separate the specific and the social collectives from others within a specific society (cf. Nimmo & Combs 1980). Thus, the underlying representation of the “us” and “them” myth appears significantly in the *2014 A.N.C. Commercial* compared with the other two A.N.C. political television commercials:

“But they never talked about how we have moved forward”

The foregoing extract of the verbal rhetoric suggests post-apartheid South Africa, while “they” suggests the manifest meaning of the opposition party, media and majority of white South Africans who are opposed to the A.N.C.-led government. The “we” in the foregoing verbal rhetoric suggests the manifest meaning of the sympathisers of the A.N.C. political party made up largely of blacks, Indians and coloureds who have historically supported the A.N.C.’s struggles against colonialism and apartheid. The words “*Moved forward*” suggest the A.N.C.-led government’s achievements since 1994.

Hence the latent meaning of the underlying verbal rhetoric of the “us” and “them” myth suggests the following: firstly, this *myth* suggests racial divisions between black and white South Africans, the reductionism of the subject (black people) versus the master (white people). Secondly, this myth comprises mainly the black middle class or the “national bourgeoisie”, which took power at the end of the colonial and apartheid regimes in South Africa (Fanon 1963:119). By contrast, the “us” suggests the black middle class who possess university degrees and hold the key professions in both public and private institutions. Some of the black middle class are politically connected to exploit the economic resources of the state and lead comfortable lives, and they exploit state resources through corruption and political patronage. At the same time, Fanon (1963) describes this group without economic power as being neither the owners of industries nor the producers or inventors of technology—they are largely involved in

“intermediary activities” in the economy and are consumers. According to Fanon (1963:125), this group possesses the “greatest wealth surrounded by the greatest poverty” in the post-apartheid South Africa. The verbal rhetoric, “*them*”, suggests the working poor who live in the townships and villages—the masses of the unemployed who are discontent with government services and are marginalised by the economic system of the post-apartheid South Africa.

In summary, the above sections analysed the sub-problem question raised in *Chapter Five*, which sought to identify whether the latent and manifest meaning is represented in the three election campaign television commercials investigated in this study. The above analysis identified the following manifest meaning of the verbal rhetoric’s, which suggests a significant improvement in the lives of South Africans in terms of access to housing, water, electricity and education, to mention but a few. However, the latent meaning of the established master myth in the *My Vote* in South African society does not take into consideration the high level of poverty and unemployment in which millions of South Africans find themselves. The above verbal rhetoric of the sampled 2014 *A.N.C. Commercial* significantly represents the “us” and “them” myth. The manifest meaning of the above verbal rhetoric suggests the underlying “us” and “them” myth. This verbal rhetoric suggests division between whites and blacks in South Africa. While the latent meaning of the myth in the underlying verbal rhetoric suggests the social and economic inequality in South Africa. The analysis of the above verbal rhetoric successfully addressed the sub-problem question raised in *Chapter Five*, which described the underlying ideological environment in which the verbal rhetoric was produced. In line with *Chapter Five*, the research assumption of this study successfully deconstructed the underlying ideology of the above verbal rhetoric, which suggests a liberal capitalist ideological construct.

The next section deals with the last two main objectives of the study, namely to identify whether or not the latent and manifest meanings of the verbal rhetoric of the sampled A.N.C. political television commercials represent the Afrocentric and/or the Eurocentric postcolonial perspectives; and to determine whether there are similarities and/or

differences between the 2009 and 2014 A.N.C. television election campaigns commercials.

6.8 AFROCENTRIC/EUROCENTRIC REPRESENTATION

In *Chapter One*, one of the objectives of this study was formulated as determining whether the verbal rhetoric of the sampled A.N.C. television election campaign commercials represents the Afrocentric or the Eurocentric postcolonial perspectives. In *Chapter Two* it was posited that the Afrocentric and Eurocentric postcolonial perspectives are expressed or represented through verbal rhetoric in media text such as political television commercials. Hence the Afrocentric perspective is described as a philosophical paradigm that seeks to place African ideals at the centre of the analysis (cf. Asante 1987:12). In the context of communication such as the A.N.C. political television commercials, the Afrocentric approach is concerned with the structure of verbal rhetoric that is consciously influenced by African cultural assumptions such as language, values and ethnicity. The following extract from the *My Vote* television political commercial analyses the representation of the Afrocentric verbal rhetoric:

“When Madiba was released”

The foregoing verbal rhetoric suggests the uniqueness of the Afrocentric rhetoric in that Mr Nelson Mandela is addressed as “Madiba”, his clan name, which falls under the *AbaThembu* tribe of the *AmaXhosa* ethnic group found largely in the Eastern Cape and the Western Cape Provinces of South Africa. The latent meaning of the verbal rhetoric “Madiba” suggests the significance of Mr Mandela ancestors’ who were the descendants of the *AbaThembu* kings who ruled the *AbaThembu* kingdom in the 18th century. Calling someone by his clan name among the *AbaThembu* people is deemed polite and respectful. Thus, the preceding verbal rhetoric suggests the respect bestowed upon Mr Mandela. In addition, the following extract from the *My Vote* commercial demonstrates the underlying representation of the Afrocentric rhetoric.

“This is a message to you Nxamalala. Heed this call Msholozì”

The manifest meaning of the verbal rhetoric, *Nxamalala* and *Msholoz*, in the above verbal rhetoric, suggests the following: *Nxamalala* is a clan found primarily in the *Umgugundlovu* and *Umzinyathi* District Municipalities in Kwa-Zulu-Natal in South Africa, while *Msholoz* was the presiding chief and a warrior of the *Nxamalala* or Zuma clan in the 18th century.

The latent meaning of the use of *Msholoz* in the above verbal rhetoric suggests the praise for President Jacob Zuma, while use of *Nxamalala* suggests the recognition of the *Nxamalala* ancestors who can be regarded as the guardians of the president. Thus, the underlying verbal rhetoric of *Madiba*, *Msholoz* and *Nxamalala* represents the dimension of the Afrocentric *Nommo*. Regarding the Afrocentric *Nommo* discussed in *Chapter Two*, Asante (cf. 1987) postulates that *Nommo* in verbal rhetoric produces a unifying symbolic meaning that establishes a common understanding among the African people.

The above verbal rhetoric possesses the unique meaning of identity among the *amaXhosa* and the *amaZulu* people of South Africa. One could thus argue that the above verbal rhetoric represents the underlying ideological construct of ethnic nationalism. This ideological construct suggests the ethnic allegiances and cultural unity of a particular ethnic group (cf. Haywood 2003:107). In this instance, the above verbal rhetoric can be seen as ideologically promoting and preserving the group identity of the *amaZulu* and *amaXhosa* ethnic groups as cultured and dominant groups among black South Africans.

In the same way as the *My Vote*, the following verbal rhetoric of the *Woman Next Door* commercial suggests the Afrocentric perspective:

“Igama lama khosikazi malibongwe”

The manifest meaning of the above verbal rhetoric suggests the historic march on 9 August 1956 when 20 000 women of all races, led by Helen Joseph, Rahima Moosa, Sophie Williams and Lilian Ngoyi, made their way to the Union Buildings in Pretoria, where they presented a petition against passes to the then South African Prime Minister, Mr

Johannes Strydom. During the march, women were singing “*Igama lama khosikazi malibongwe*”, which means “praises be given to women” (Hassim 2005:26).

The underlying latent meaning of the above verbal rhetoric suggests the significant role played by women in the liberation struggle. These women were mothers, sisters and grandmothers who suffered the consequences of active participation in the struggle against the apartheid system imposed by the N.P. government. Women were fighters who were left behind assuming the roles of their husbands and supporting their families both materially and emotionally while their husbands and sons were imprisoned or exiled. Some women were imprisoned because of their political views against apartheid. Despite all the difficulties of the struggle against apartheid, women emerged as heroines who survived the brutality of the apartheid system.

The underlying ideological meaning of the above verbal rhetoric suggests a liberal feminist ideology which is based on the belief that women are important individuals who deserve equal treatment, regardless of their gender, race, colour and religion (cf. Haywood 2003:252-254). The representation of the above ideological construct of liberal feminism uses the unification ideological technique. According to Thompson (cf. 1990), this technique suggests the representation of the collective identification of women through verbal rhetoric. The above verbal rhetoric resonates with the Afrocentric perspective of *Nommo*, the use of the vernacular hymn such as the *isiZulu* hymn calling for the recognition of women through praises. The preceding verbal rhetoric can therefore be said to represent the Afrocentric perspective.

Unlike the *My Vote* and the *Woman Next Door* commercials, the 2014 *A.N.C. Commercial's* verbal rhetoric represents the Eurocentric postcolonial perspective. This perspective, as described in *Chapter Two*, is a critical perspective that argues that Euro-American culture is positioned as superior, unique, exclusive and legitimate, while non-European cultures are marginalised and regarded as inferior (cf. Amin 1988). In the context of verbal rhetoric, the Eurocentric perspective can be seen as legitimate and one that justifies the capitalist economic order over the non-Western world through the rhetoric of modernity, civilisation and development (cf. Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013). Thus,

the following extract analyses the nature of the verbal rhetoric of the 2014 A.N.C. Commercial:

“So they say this country is going backwards”

The above verbal rhetoric, as pointed out in previous sections, suggests the latent meaning of the Eurocentric postcolonial perspective of undermining non-whites and the colonial reductionism of black leadership. In other words, black people are not capable of leading societies. The above verbal rhetoric also suggests the ideological construct of the white conservative ideology which is concerned with the preservation of the traditions and established values of white domination (cf. Haywood 1998/2003). Furthermore, it suggests the use of a fragmentation ideological technique, that is, South Africa is a fragmented and a divided society based on racial lines (cf. Thompson 1990).

“We built a nation that we can all live in with freedom and equality”

The manifest meaning of the above verbal rhetoric “freedom and equality” suggests on the surface a progressive society in South Africa. In other words, since becoming a constitutional democracy in 1994, the rights of citizens have been recognised and enshrined in the Constitution—South Africans of all races are equal before the Constitution, and the country has a cohesive and dynamic society that values freedom and equality. However, the latent meaning of the above rhetoric suggests that such verbal rhetoric represents the neo-colonial cultural values of Western society, which value freedom and equality among citizens.

“Over the next five years we will invest more in infrastructure”

The above verbal rhetoric suggests the underlying notion of development, modernity and progress in the. According to Ndlovu-Gatsheni (cf. 2013), what is regarded as development in non-Western societies such as South Africa is an imperial project which serves the needs of Western society. This implies that, in many instances, the West finances development in developing regions such as South Africa in the form of loans, grants, donations, skills transfer and technological development, which as a result constitute non-Western societies such as South Africa as subjects, while the West

remains superior. As pointed out earlier, the above verbal rhetoric suggests the liberal ideology (cf. Haywood 1998/2003) which advocates efficiency through infrastructure development, human rights, equality and democracy. The liberal democracy favour the white or Western cultures as opposed to the non-Western societies, such as South Africa, in which the majority of people remain poor despite all the efforts of advanced development in technology, medical health and economic system.

In summary, the above discussion of the findings indicates that the Eurocentric postcolonial perspective is represented more in the verbal rhetoric of the *2014 A.N.C Commercial* than in the 2009 *My Vote* and the *Woman Next Door* commercials, which make significant use of the verbal rhetoric of Afrocentric postcolonial perspective.

The section below contains an analysis of the last objective of this study, as formulated in *Chapter One*, namely to determine whether there are similarities or differences between the 2009 and the 2014 A.N.C. advertisements.

6.9 COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE THREE A.N.C. POLITICAL TELEVISION COMMERCIALS

As stated in *Chapter Five*, the central goal of this study was to ascertain whether there were any similarities or differences in the selected A.N.C. political television commercials.

The verbal rhetoric of the 2009 and 2014 political television commercials represents different forms of discourse. The rhetoric in the 2009 commercial, *My Vote*, represents the discourse of access to social services such as electricity, education, health, housing and water. The focus of the *Woman Next Door* discourse is the economic empowerment of the previously marginalised black, coloured and Indian women of South Africa.

By contrast, the discourse of the *2014 A.N.C. Commercial*, relates to growing the South African economy through infrastructure development, increased access to education and universal access to health. Thus, the discourse of the three political television commercials can be said to share similarities in that they are all concerned with improving the quality of lives of South Africans.

The genre of the above political television commercials varies considerably in that the *My Vote* and *Woman Next Door* commercials use the vernacular appeal type of verbal rhetoric, which suggests the centrality of the Afrocentric philosophical perspective in these commercials. By contrast, the *2014 A.N.C. Commercial* lacks the vernacular appeal type of verbal rhetoric.

The above political television commercials use representation in similar ways in the form of metaphors and repetition to represent both the historical past of black South Africa and the current state of affairs in the post-apartheid South Africa.

However, both the 2009 and 2014 commercials use different types of myths in their verbal rhetoric. The 2009 *My Vote* commercial uses the master myth, while the *2014 A.N.C. Commercial* uses the “us” and “them” myths to represent reductionism in post-apartheid society.

In relation to the postcolonial Afrocentric and the Eurocentric perspectives, both the 2009 commercials and the 2014 commercial display varying verbal rhetoric of postcolonial perspectives. The verbal rhetoric of the 2009 commercials is largely Afrocentric in nature because of the metaphors, repetition and vernacular language appeal, while the 2014 commercial is Eurocentric in that the underlying meaning of the verbal rhetoric undermines and discredits black leadership, which suggests colonial reductionism.

The verbal rhetoric of the three commercials represents different ideological constructs. The *My Vote* commercial represents a socialist ideology which calls for government intervention in the eradication of poverty and the distribution of wealth among citizens (cf. Haywood 1998/2003). However, the *Woman Next Door* commercial, uses liberal feminist ideology, which calls for the emancipation of women from all forms of structural patriarchy the independence of women and access to social and economic opportunities (cf. Haywood 1998/2003). The *2014 A.N.C. Commercial* uses the moderate liberal or neo-liberal ideology, which is concerned with growing the economy and investing in economic infrastructure to encourage commercial and foreign investment in South Africa (cf. Haywood 1998/2003).

6.10 CONCLUSION

This chapter provided an objective description of the 2009 and 2014 A.N.C. political television commercials, followed by a discussion, and interpretation, of the verbal rhetoric of the sampled political television commercials through the use of different dimensions of the social semiotic research framework. Of significance in the discussion was the analysis of the latent and manifest meaning of the verbal rhetoric of three A.N.C. political television commercials. The underlying ideological construct of the verbal rhetoric of the 2009 and 2014 A.N.C. commercials was also analysed. Moreover, the chapter identified the hidden Afrocentric and Eurocentric postcolonial perspective within the 2009 and 2014 A.N.C. political television commercials. Lastly, similarities and differences between the three commercials were identified.

As stated in *Chapters One* and *Five*, the primary objective of the study was to deconstruct the latent and manifest meaning of the verbal, non-verbal and visual rhetoric of the A.N.C. commercials by means of the social semiotic framework. *Chapter Seven* focuses on the deconstruction of the non-verbal and visual rhetoric of the three A.N.C. political television commercials analysed in this study.

CHAPTER SEVEN: PART II: ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF THE NON-VERBAL AND VISUAL RHETORIC IN THE A.N.C. POLITICAL TELEVISION ADVERTISEMENTS

7.1 INTRODUCTION

Chapter Seven is the second part of the analysis and interpretation of the *non-verbal* and *visual* rhetoric in the three A.N.C. political television commercials. This is in direct contrast to *Chapter Six*, which provided a critique and explication of only the verbal rhetoric of these same advertisements.

Thus, the next section of the discussion of findings focuses on the analysis and interpretation of the visual and non-verbal rhetoric of the sampled A.N.C. political television commercials, namely, the: *My Vote*; *Woman Next Door*; and *2014 A.N.C. Commercial* through the use of different social semiotic dimensions or “tools” (namely: discourse; representation; modality; genre; myth; and ideology).

Firstly, through the use of the different dimensions of the social semiotic research methodology, the following sections identify the latent and manifest meaning of the non-verbal and visual rhetoric of the selected A.N.C. political television commercials. Secondly, the chapter deconstructs the underlying latent and manifest ideologies of the non-verbal and visual rhetoric of the political television commercials. Thirdly, it identifies whether or not the latent and manifest meanings of the non-verbal and visual rhetoric in the sampled A.N.C. political television commercials represent the Afrocentric and/or the Eurocentric postcolonial perspectives. Lastly, it determines whether there are similarities and/or differences in the non-verbal and visual rhetoric of the two 2009 and one 2014 A.N.C. television advertisement.

7.2 DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

In the discussion of findings, it is important to review the key concepts for this specific chapter. In *Chapter Three*, non-verbal rhetoric was described as the non-verbal aspects of communication which involve human body movement, settings, dress code, objects, music and tone of voice. These types of non-verbal communication are regarded as the

“hidden dimensions” of communication in a cultural context (Hall 1969). Non-verbal communication can also be symbolic (cf. Martin & Nakayama 2013:274). Visual rhetoric is defined as a form of communication that uses images to create meaning and to construct an argument (cf. Foss 2005:141). In *Chapter Three* it was stated that the visual image creates meaning and arguments through symbolic features, through the use camera angles shots and movements and tertiary techniques of video production such as cut, dissolve, lighting music settings and shadows. Thus, the above identified strategies of verbal rhetoric, can be regarded as tools for analysing visual rhetoric (cf. Foss 2005:144). Given the above understanding of the non-verbal and visual rhetoric as well as the identified elements that could be analysed, the next sections focus on the different dimensions of social semiotics such as discourse, representation, genre, modality, myth, narrative and ideology that are significant in the analysis and the interpretation of the non-verbal and visual rhetoric of the A.N.C. political television commercials.

Although the above dimensions of the social semiotic were discussed in *Chapter Four* and applied to the sampled A.N.C. television election commercials in *Chapter Six*, it is important to note that there is some repetition of the use of the same dimensions of the social semiotics in this chapter. As pointed out earlier in the introduction, the use of the social semiotic dimension in this chapter specifically helps with the analysis of the visual rhetoric, while in *Chapter Six* it was used in the analysis of verbal rhetoric.

7.3 “DISCOURSE” / “SOCIAL REALITY”: A DIMENSION OF SOCIAL SEMIOTICS

Chapter Four described discourse as a construction of “social reality” (cf. Foucault 1977:49). In the context of visual rhetoric, the social semiotic dimension of discourse focuses on how the social reality is constructed through the different themes of visual images and how these themes could be given different manifest and latent meanings in visual image. As in *Chapter Six*, the next section focuses on the different types of discourses or the social reality represented in the 2009 and 2014 A.N.C. political television commercials. It also focuses, firstly, on how discourse or social reality is rhetorically represented through non-verbal and visual images, and secondly analyses

whether latent and manifest meaning are represented in the selected A.N.C. television election campaign commercials, and thirdly, it deconstructs the latent and manifest ideological meaning of the sampled A.N.C. commercials.

7.3.1 “My Vote”: “Discourse” (“social reality”): A dimension of social semiotics

The following visual image focuses on the representation of discourse in the context of visual rhetoric.



Figure 7.1: The *My Vote* television political commercial represents the discourse theme of “access to water”.

The above *Figure 7.1* is a screenshot of the *My Vote* political television commercial in which a boy is depicted washing his face, using an outside tap (in a rural setting). This advertisement depicts a discourse/ social reality theme of access to water. *Figure 7.1* rhetorically depicts a medium shot (M.S.),⁷² of a boy washing his face under a running tap water connected to a household yard in a village. This implies a reference to the social issue of increased access to drinking water in rural and semi-urban South African communities. In *Chapter Four*, discourse was identified as a significant dimension of the social semiotic approach which contributes towards the creation of social meaning. The theme of the above visual rhetoric represents the discourse of

⁷² The underlying meaning of a medium shot is to establish the surroundings of the figure, and his or her involvement in an action or activity. It also suggests integration, more so when there are more than two figures involved in an activity such as in a conversation (cf. Zettle 2008).

increased access to water under the A.N.C.-led government. The manifest meaning of the above visual rhetoric of access to water discourse suggests that, at the time of this advertisement, 89.6 percent of the South African household had access to piped water either inside the house, yard or from communal water taps (Statistics South Africa 2011). From the policy point of view, the South African Government Department of Water Affairs and Forestry (D.W.A.F.), enacted the Free Basic Water Policy of 2001 (South Africa, D.W.A.F. 2001) which makes a provision for poor households to receive 6 000 litres of water per month free from local government such as the City of Tshwane or the City of Johannesburg on the basis that, once the first free 6 000 litres of water have been exhausted, the individual household is expected to pay for additional water. Although the above policy sought to address universal access to water among South Africans, the visual rhetoric does not address the underlying latent meaning of the hidden and looming water crisis discourse in South Africa. Firstly, receiving water through a tap in the house, in the yard or the communal street water tap does not mean having water. Secondly, the visual rhetoric of increased access to water can be seen as a political issue, in that, about 4.5 million of South African households have no access to drinking water, while the A.N.C.-led government claims that there has been a significant increase in access to water among South Africans (Statistics South Africa 2011).

Since the above visual rhetoric uses the M.S. in the discourse in question, it suggests that the following underlying latent meaning created by the M.S is rhetorical because it emphasises the significance of the value of access to water towards improving the lives of people in the South African society (Ryan 2012:18). Also, the underlying ideological meaning of the discourse of increased access to water among

South African households suggests that water is a symbolic source of life, thus leading to increased quality of life, better health, fertility among women, renewal of human vigour and household cleanliness.

The discourse of the above visual rhetoric also represents the manifest and latent underlying ideological meaning of socialism. In *Chapter Four* of this study, Haywood (cf.

2003:105) described the ideological construct of socialism as the redistribution of wealth through government intervention in the form of welfare programmes to overcome poverty and underdevelopment among the poor. Thus, socialist ideology can be seen as being opposed to private ownership, which is deemed to perpetuate inequality in society. The above visual rhetoric uses the ideological technique of dissimulation in the representation of the socialist ideology to represent the discourse of universal access to water, while 4.5 million South Africans do not have access to water. As posited in *Chapter Four*, the dissimulation ideological technique uses visual rhetoric to conceal and obscure with the intention to deflect attention from the existing discourse (cf. Thompson 1990:62), and in this case, to concealed the fact that clean, running tap water is still not available to many South Africans. Like the *My Vote A.N.C.* commercial, the *Woman Next Door* commercial's verbal rhetoric displays different themes of discourse.

7.3.2 “*Woman Next Door*”: “*Discourse*” (“*social reality*”): A dimension of social semiotics

The following visual image of the *Woman Next Door* commercial rhetorically represents the social semiotic dimension of discourse / “social reality”.



Figure 7.2: The *Woman Next Door* television political commercial represents the discourse/ “social reality” theme of the “empowerment of women”.

The above *Figure 7.2* is a screenshot from the *Woman Next Door* commercial which depicts a well-groomed woman standing in an extremely posh and spotless kitchen. This commercial represents the discourse/social reality theme of the empowerment of women. *Figure 7.2* rhetorically depicts a medium long shot (M.L.S.),⁷³ of a middle-aged woman, wearing an apron, displaying her arms and showing her well-furnished kitchen both in the background and the foreground. The significant use of the M.L.S. in the *Woman Next Door* emphasises the significance of the surroundings of the visual image. Like with the *MyVote* commercial, in *Chapter Four*, discourse is identified as a significant dimension of social semiotics which contributes towards the creation of social meaning. The above theme of the visual rhetoric represents the discourse of the economic empowerment of women, largely the previously marginalised South African black, coloured and Indian women.

The manifest meaning of the above visual rhetoric represents women in small business empowerment, that is, increased participation in the economy through small business to create employment and income for other women. At the time of this advertisement, the population of women of working age in South Africa involved in small businesses, which are non-V.A.T. (Value Added Tax) registered businesses, constituted 3.3 percent compared to men who constituted 3.6 percent (Statistics South Africa 2011). Also, women in the formal business sector are underrepresented. In a study⁷⁴ by the Business Women's Association (henceforth, B.W.A) it was revealed that 318 women occupy executive positions in the Johannesburg Stock Exchange (J.S.E.) listed companies, of which 7.8 percent were CEOs and board chairpersons, 14.3 percent were directors and 25.3 percent were executive managers. In terms of race, the B.W.A. (2009) reveals that between 2006 and 2008, black directors in the J.S.E. listed companies constituted 57.3 percent, while black executive managers constituted 29.7

⁷³ A medium camera long shot (M.L.S.) is described as showing the subject's or person's head placed in the upper level edge of the frame, with the lowest point of the frame being above or below the knees with more visual information about the setting (Zettl 2008). The underlying meaning of the M.L.S. camera technique is to provide information, and to emphasise the significance of the scenes surroundings of the shot.

⁷⁴ Cf. 2009 B.W.A. South Africa women in corporate leadership census 2009.

percent compared to a large proportion of white executive managers who constituted 55.5 percent.

The underlying latent meaning created by the M.L.S. is rhetorical, in that, it firstly, emphasises the significance of the surroundings or the location of the woman, that is, the kitchen that supports her B&B small business. Further the M.L.S reveals that the woman is an independent small business owner, the fact that she is in business, and that she is upper middle class and an entrepreneur who takes pride in the ownership of her business.

The latent meaning of the above visual rhetoric opposes long-standing views that women are physically and intellectually weak compared to their male counterparts, and that they cannot succeed in matters of entrepreneurship. The underlying manifest and latent ideological meaning of the discourse represented in the visual rhetoric suggests the liberal feminist ideology. In *Chapter Four* it was stated that the liberal feminism ideology argues for individual equality irrespective of gender and race (cf. Haywood 2003:252). The preceding visual rhetoric uses the Thompson (cf.1990) ideological technique of legitimising the established discourse/social reality that women are equal to men in all aspects of social life.

Similar to the *My Vote* and the *Woman Next Door* commercials, the *2014 A.N.C. Commercial* depicts different themes of discourse/social reality through visual rhetoric.

7.3.3 “2014 A.N.C. Commercial”: “Discourse” (“social reality”): A dimension of social semiotics

The following visual image of the *2014 A.N.C. Commercial* rhetorically represents the dimension of discourse/social reality of “infrastructure development”:



Figure 7.3: *2014 A.N.C. Commercial* represents the discourse/social reality themes of infrastructure development and industrialisation.

The above figure is a screen shot of the *2014 A.N.C. Commercial*, which depicts a large-scale construction site with multiple concrete columns and workers involved in assembling scaffolding.

The figure rhetorically depicts a crane camera angle of two men assembling a scaffold at the construction site in the foreground and columns of a structure under construction in the background of the visual image in the *2014 A.N.C. Commercial*. The camera movement used in this visual image is a secondary camera movement of a crane camera angle focusing and moving upwards along the high column of the structure under construction. The crane camera angle is described as an upward and downward movement of a camera head focusing and moving at the same vertical level with the object or a person (Zettl 2008).⁷⁵ The manifest meaning of the above visual image is the construction of the new 4 800 megawatt electric power station at Medupi in the Limpopo Province of South Africa. As pointed out in *Chapter Six*, at the time of this advertisement, the A.N.C.-led government was committed to the *South African National*

⁷⁵ The underlying meaning of the use of the upward crane suggests the significance of power and determination. On the other hand, the underlying meaning of downward crane, suggests the state of insignificance of the subject in the visual image.

Development Plan Vision for 2030 (2011), in which the government planned to invest in the following economic and social infrastructure in the areas of public transport, such as commuter rail system, road transport systems, the building of a new coal railway line in the Waterberg area, upgrading the existing coal lines in Richards Bay, and the iron ore line in Saldanha Bay and new water reservoirs on the *Umzimvubu* River in KwaZulu-Natal Province, South Africa. Thus, the underlying latent meaning of the use of the crane camera movement along the column in the above visual image is rhetorical in that, it suggests the determination and power of the A.N.C.-led government in advancing South Africa's economic infrastructure to become world class, whereby there is efficiency of services, business and improved quality of life (Giannetti 2005:128). Also the, underlying latent meaning of the visual image, is rhetorical in that, it suggest that the A.N.C.-led government is transforming South African society according to the demands of Europe, which implies that black people do not have an agency in post- apartheid South Africa and as such, South Africa subjects itself to neo-colonial liberals. It is for this reason that the E.F.F. has called for the nationalisation of mines and the redistribution of land to black South Africans (Makinana 2014).

The above visual image rhetorically represents the underlying ideology of liberal capitalism, which emphasises increased investment in industrial development, through minimum government intervention (Haywood 2003:47). Given that the A.N.C. government implicitly seeks to attract foreign investment through advanced economic infrastructure, it can thus be said that the above visual rhetoric uses the dissimulation ideological technique. Thompson (1990) describes the dissimulation ideological technique, discussed in *Chapter Four* of this study, as a tool used in visual rhetoric to conceal the intention and deflect attention from the issue of concern such as allowing foreign multinationals to reign over the economy of South Africa with little or no involvement of locals.

In concluding the analysis of the discourse dimension of the social semiotic approach, the following discussion compares the findings of the above identified three sampled

A.N.C. television election commercials. The above visual images used different visual rhetoric such as the M.S. for the *My Vote*, M.L.S. for the *Woman Next Door* and the crane camera angle for the *2014 A.N.C. Commercial*. The above camera shots emphasize the value of the discourse (social realities) in question such as access to water, economic empowerment of previously marginalised South African black, Indian and coloured women as well as the significance of investment in economic infrastructure (as envisaged by Western, first-world countries/neo-liberal capitalism). In the analysis of the discourse as a dimension of social semiotics through visual rhetoric, the following manifest and latent ideological meanings are identified in the above commercials:

The three sampled commercials represent different latent and manifest ideological meanings of the visual rhetoric. In the *My Vote* commercial, the latent and manifest ideological meaning of the visual rhetoric represents the socialist ideology, while in the *Woman Next Door* commercial, the latent and manifest meaning of the visual rhetoric, represents a liberal feminist ideology. In the *2014 A.N.C. Commercial*, the visual rhetoric's latent and manifest ideological meaning represent a liberalist capitalist ideological meaning.

The next section focuses on the dimension of “representation” (cf. Hall 2013) of the social semiotic approach.

7.4 REPRESENTATION AS A DIMENSION OF SOCIAL SEMIOTICS

In *Chapter Four*, representation was identified as a significant dimension of the social semiotic research framework. As such, it is described as a meaning produced and exchanged between members of a particular society to symbolise, depict or stand for something (cf. Hall 2013). Thus, the next section focuses on the analysis of the dimension of representation in the 2009 and 2014 A.N.C. political television commercials. Firstly, the section focuses on how the dimension of representation is rhetorically represented through non-verbal and visual images. Secondly, it analyses whether the latent and manifest meanings are represented in the selected commercials.

Thirdly, it deconstructs the latent and manifest ideological meanings of the sampled A.N.C. commercials. The next sections of this chapter analyse how visual rhetoric uses representation to create both the manifest and latent meanings within the political advertisements, as well as how it deconstructs the underlying ideology of the visual image.

7.4.1 “My Vote”: “Representation”: A dimension of the social semiotic approach

The following visual image is taken from the *My Vote* and the *Woman Next Door* commercials:



Figure 7.4: The *My Vote* and the *Woman Next Door*: screenshot of A.N.C. political flag.

The above *Figure 7.4* is a screenshot depicting the A.N.C. political party flag of gold, green and black bands; a wheel with spikes. a spear clenched in a right hand and a shield depicted in black and the A.N.C. written text. The *Figure 7.4* screenshot of the *My Vote* and the *Woman Next Door* commercials' visual image, uses the rhetoric of the close-up (C.U.) shot to depict the A.N.C. political party flag flying horizontally. A C.U. shot is described as a tight shot that shows the whole object's features or a larger section of an artefact in the visual image (Zettl 2008).⁷⁶

⁷⁶ The underlying meaning of the close-up shot reveals the emotional state, the moral and credible state and the position of authority which the subject occupies in the visual image.

Thus, the manifest meaning of the use of the rhetoric C.U. shot in the above visual image of the A.N.C. political party flag, reveals equal horizontal black, green and gold bands, a wheel, a right-hand clenched around a spear with a thumb and a shield depicted in black colour. Underneath the wheel, and right hand clenched around a spear with a thumb and a shield, there is the written text “A.N.C.” in black. The close-up shot of the above visual image is rhetorically symbolic as it suggests the following underlying latent meaning of the A.N.C. flag. The horizontal black band symbolises the people of South Africa who for generations have fought for freedom against colonialism and apartheid oppression.

The green band, symbolises land, which for centuries has sustained the people of South Africa through agriculture, from which they were removed forcefully by colonial and apartheid governments. The gold band represents the mineral wealth of South Africa which belongs to all South Africans irrespective of class and race. A right hand clenched with the thumb, which symbolises the unity of the people of Africa. The wheel and its four spokes in the 1950’s, represented the A.N.C.’s alliance partners such as the South African Congress of Trade Unions (S.A.C.T.U.), South African Congress of Democrats (S.A.C.D.), the South African Indian Congress (S.A.I.C.) and the South African Coloured People’s Congress (S.A.C.P.C.) The spoke can be said to be a multiracial congress alliance. It was the symbol of four nations—whites, Indians coloureds and Africans. The hub of the wheel represents the A.N.C. holding the alliance and the congress of the people together. In the 1980s, the spokes were increased from four to become many spokes with the A.N.C. remaining at the hub to represent the unity of the alliances. Then the many spokes represented the alliance partnership between the A.N.C., the Congress of the South African Trade Unions (C.O.S.A.T.U); the South African Communist Party (S.A.C.P.); the civic movement such as the United Democratic Front (U.D.F.), the Mass Democratic Movement (M.D.M.), included also the S.A.N.C.O (henceforth, the South African National Civic Organisation) together with the S.A.C.P and C.O.S.A.T.U which at the time were anti- apartheid groups aligned with the A.N.C. in the struggle against apartheid (Zvomuya 2012). At the time of this advertisement, the remaining alliances with the A.N.C. were the trade unions in C.O.S.A.T.U. and the A.C.P. Hence thus the tripartite alliance gives the wheel shape and strength, while the spear and the shield are

symbolic and represent the A.N.C.'s armed struggle against apartheid which is, *Umkhonto weSizwe*, the spear of the nation or the shield of the nation (Seidman 2007:38). Also, the spear and the shield suggest protection against enemies. Furthermore, they suggest the money and the economic wealth of society used as a resource for protection.

The latent meaning of the above C.U. shot in the foregoing visual image also reminds South Africans emotionally of the unique and difficult struggles that they have gone through under colonialism and apartheid. The C.U. rhetoric in the above visual image, rhetorically represents a common understanding among South Africans of their history and culture, that is, that the A.N.C. liberated the previously marginalised people of South Africa from the hands of apartheid and colonialism. Because of the unique South African historical struggles against apartheid and colonialism, the underlying ideology of the above visual image rhetorically represents political nationalism. *Chapter Four* described political nationalism as an ideology based on the premise of civic loyalty and political allegiance rather than on cultural identity (cf. Haywood 2003:155). As pointed out earlier, the visual images use the C.U. shot to reveal different features of the A.N.C. flag which represent shared emotional experiences of sadness, trauma and devastation under the oppressive apartheid and colonial South African regimes as well as gains made by the A.N.C. in 1994 to bring about relief among the previously marginalised black, Indian and coloured South Africans.

The above colours such as gold, for instance, suggest extreme wealth, luxury, abundance, prosperity and success. Furthermore, the colour gold implies affluence, extravagance, prestige, sophistication, elegance and money, which all indicate consumerism and capitalism. Like gold, the green colour stands for prosperity, freshness, progress, a healthy environment and wealth. For instance, green farms mean wealthy farms (fertility) and land. The black colour, suggests self-control, discipline, independence, strong will, and creates an impression of authority and power (Bule 2011). Thus, the above colours can be seen to represent money and ownership of land and mines, which is capitalism and consumerism. Like the *My Vote* and the *Woman Next Door*, the *2014 A.N.C. Commercial* possesses the dimension of representation of the social semiotic approach.

7.4.2 The “2014 A.N.C. Commercial”: Representation: A dimension of the social semiotic approach

The visual image is a screenshot taken from the 2014 A.N.C. Commercial.



Figure 7.5: The 2014 A.N.C. Commercial infers the use of representation as a dimension of the social semiotic approach. The representation is of security; crime; caution (watching the news); but also of ownership; and cohesion and inclusion, with an emphasis on South Africa and all of its citizens (the inclusion of the South African flag is an emblem of this representation).

The above figure is a screenshot of the 2014 A.N.C. Commercial which depicts a fast-food restaurant, decorated in South African flags, a male customer seated at a table, eating a meal while watching the news on television. The female shopkeeper is behind the counter also watching the news on television, while outside the restaurant it is dark, and there is a man standing at the door of the restaurant with a dog.

Figure 7.5 uses a medium long shot to establish and highlight the significance of the surroundings of the restaurant. The inside of the restaurant, is not well lit which suggests low-key lighting,⁷⁷ which works as an under lights, below the subject or the object to create shadows and less clarity of vision (Zettl 1992:196). That is, the decorative flags in the restaurant represent the state of political, economic and governance affairs in South Africa and the South African parliament.

Watching television news depicting President Zuma, mounted high on the wall with grave concern on the faces of the male customer and the female shopkeeper, suggests concerns about President Zuma's ability to lead South Africa, and concerns over governance under the A.N.C.-led government. The man with a dog at the door of the restaurant suggests a security guard preventing crime. The outside darkness suggests the unsafe streets of South Africa. At the time of this advertisement, the South African Police Service (S.A.P.S.) had released the nationwide crime statistics. For instance, in the year 2013/2014, cases of street robbery increased from 60 476 in 2012/2013 to 69 074 in 2013/2014, which is an increase by 14.2 percent. Sexual offences, particularly cases of rape, showed a slight decrease of 3 percent in 2008/2009 from 47 588 to 46 253 in 2013/2014. In the case of murder, instances increased from 16 259 murders in 2012/2013 to 17 068 in 2013/2014, meaning that every day, 47 people were murdered in South Africa per 100 000 people (Institute for Security Studies and Africa Check 2014).

Hence the use of the visual rhetoric low-key lighting in the above visual image is used to symbolise a state of menace, anxiety and disorder. This is also supported by the visible burglar bars and the television set which is mounted high above the wall where no one can easily steal it.

At the time of this advertisement, the A.N.C.-led government was embroiled in numerous scandals and allegations of the misuse of public funds and political patronage. To mention a few; the president of the A.N.C. political party Mr Jacob Zuma was found to have benefited through corrupt misuse of public funds in the construction of his private residential house in the rural village of Nkandla in KwaZulu-Natal

⁷⁷ The underlying ideological meaning of low-key lighting is to elicit negative and fearful emotions to suggest nightmares, disorder, chaos, danger, threats and terror.

Province, South Africa, which cost tax payers over R200 million (De Wet & Evans 2014).⁷⁸ Further revelations of corruption rocked the A.N.C., in the awarding of tenders for different public services such as construction. A case in point is the awarding of a tender to the Japanese multinational company, Hitachi, through corrupt payments to an A.N.C. front company, Chancellor House, in order to secure one of South Africa's largest tenders worth over R30 billion in the construction of the electricity utility power plant Medupi, one of the largest coal-power stations with an output of 4 800 megawatts, in the Limpopo Province of South Africa (Wild 2014). There were also revelations that public officials, largely A.N.C. members close to the president, who were found to have fraudulent qualifications while holding senior position in government (Oosthuizen 2014). There had also been infighting within the A.N.C. party and many other reports that raised concerns about the future of South Africa (Mkhize 2014).

Thus, the latent meaning of the above visual rhetoric's low-key lighting represents the underlying "exceptionalism" of black leadership. Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2013:92) regards exceptionalism of black leadership it as the degeneration of governance, increasing poverty among citizens, the consumption of state resources through corrupt means over productive activities and proper savings. Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2013) views these activities as acts of abnormalities to outsiders. Fanon (1965:122) classifies the above as "national bourgeoisie", that is, political elites with no previous access to wealth, suddenly discover "new worlds" (state funds), and develop a spirit of indulgence and

⁷⁸ In 2009, the *Mail & Guardian* (a South African newspaper) journalists first reported on the Nkandla developments which at that time, had cost tax payers R203 million. By 2012, the Office of the Public Protector began investigations which were released in 2014 at the time of this advertisement. In the report, the Public Protector ruled that President Jacob Zuma had "benefited unduly" from the inflated R246 million Nkandla upgrades which included non-security features such as the fire pool, cattle kraal and amphitheatres (De Wet & Evans 2014). The Public Protector report, however, recommended that President Zuma had to pay back "at least part of the spending on improvements to the property not related to security" (Vecchiato & Marrian 2014). Given that President Jacob Zuma did not comply with the recommendations of the Office of the Public Protector, opposition parties, the E.F.F. and later, the D.A. took the matter to the South African Constitutional Court, to further recommend that President Zuma comply with Public Protector's recommendation (Davis 2015). In March 2016, the Constitutional Court made a ruling against President Zuma, stating that the president and the national assembly (South African Parliament) had failed to uphold the South African Constitution (Shoba, Gordin, Hunter & Rampedi 2016).

opulence life which is spent in display of luxury cars and big houses. Fanon (1965) laments that, the “national bourgeoisie” is concerned with placing the economy not in the service of the nation, but rather placing the service of the economy in the hands of a few politically connected elites through corrupt means. This means transferring the wealth of the nation into political patronage, while the masses are marginalised in the process.

The underlying ideological meaning of the above visual rhetoric therefore represents the cultural nationalist ideology where a nation is divided based on political allegiances and views (cf. Haywood 2003:167). The above visual rhetoric also uses the fragmentation ideological technique to represent a political nationalism ideology (cf. Thompson 1990). That is, a fragmented and a divided relationship between politicians and citizens over issues of governance.

In comparison with the above A.N.C. political television commercials, it can be said that both the *My Vote* and the *Woman Next Door* political television commercials rhetorically represent the identity of the political party to redress a historical marginalisation of the majority of black people and in particular Indians, black and coloured women of South Africa. By contrast, the *2014 A.N.C. Commercial* rhetorically represents a disintegrated and fragmented political, social and economic state of affairs in South Africa under the A.N.C.-led government. The *2014 A.N.C. Commercial* depicts the true state of political, social and economic affairs in South Africa in that the commercial wants to make people aware of the underlying state of South Africa. Despite the polarised state of South Africa, the A.N.C. reinforces its position in South African society, that the A.N.C. as a political party is a unifying governing party, and that it will deliver services to concerned South Africans, and that the party is committed to the eradication of crime, economic empowerment of women through small businesses, and encourages and supports the creation of a new black middle class. The *2014 A.N.C. Commercial* further emphasises the significance of South Africa through the use of decorative national flags, to suggest that the A.N.C. takes care of South Africa and all of her people, not only A.N.C. members. Thus, the advertisement

in question can be seen to represent the collective rather than the individual, as seen in the *My Vote* and the *Women Next Door* commercials.

Although there are significant differences in the above political television commercials, there is also significant ideological similarities of nationalism in the above political television commercials. The findings are as follows: firstly, both the *My Vote* and *Woman Next Door* commercials, use the visual rhetoric of the close-up shot of the A.N.C. political party flag, and secondly, the visual rhetoric reveals both the latent and manifest ideological meaning of political nationalism of the political party. In contrast to the above two political television commercials, the *2014 A.N.C. Commercial* uses two significant types of visual rhetoric, namely the medium long shot and low-key outdoor lighting to represent the underlying latent and manifest ideological meaning of nationalism and capitalism and the collective, while the other two, the *My Vote* and the *Woman Next Door* represent individualism and the liberal feminist ideological construct. The next section examines the third dimension of the social semiotic approach, namely, modality.

7.5 MODALITY: AS A DIMENSION OF SOCIAL SEMIOTICS

In *Chapter Four*, modality was identified as a significant dimension of social semiotics. In *Chapter Six*, the aspects of modality were identified in the interpretation of verbal rhetoric. This section of the chapter focuses on the significance of modality in the visual and non-verbal rhetoric. According to Kress and van Leeuwen (cf. 2005) modality is described as the channels and medium that represent “reality” and “credibility” in a media text. In the context of visual and non-verbal rhetoric, modality is concerned with the representation of the varying degree of reality about the (time) period; settings; people; body language; colour; costumes; and, shade in visual text. The next sections of the analysis focus on the use of social semiotic “modalities”.

7.5.1 “My Vote”: “Modality” as a dimension of social semiotics

The visual image of the *My Vote* television election campaign commercial is analysed

to determine what, if any, modality/ies are represented within the visual text and rhetoric.



Figure 7.6: The *My Vote* television national election campaign commercial which suggests social semiotic modality/ies of: a naturalistic, rural setting; and the colourfully painted houses. All of which infer a credible, authentic and realistic setting, which is commonly found in certain provinces.

The above figure is a screenshot of the *My Vote* commercial, depicting a dirt road, shrubs along the road, a herd of cattle, a cattle herder walking behind the livestock and a concentration of bright coloured village houses in the background.

Figure 7.6 of the *My Vote* commercial rhetorically depicts, using an extra-long camera shot (X.L.S.),⁷⁹ of a herd of cattle, with a man herding them on a dirt road alongside an array of shrub trees. In the background, there is a concentration of village houses, representing the Eastern Cape Province of South Africa. The use of an X.L.S., is generally used to rhetorically establish the location within the visual image of a text. (Giannetti 2005:552). The Eastern Cape Province, is therefore the manifest meaning in this screenshot. The underlying latent meaning of the image of the modal elements of rural villages, such as the herd of cattle; dirt roads; shrub trees alongside the road; and a concentration of rural *rondavels* suggests an authenticity, and a credibility. It also

⁷⁹ The extreme-long shot, or X.L.S., is described as a camera shot that shows the full length of a person, or the setting of an object, such as a building from a distance. It is considered to be an “establishing shot” and is also almost always an exterior shot (cf. Giannetti 2005; Zettle 1992 and 2008).

implies that the A.N.C. political party represents all South Africans irrespective of their geographic location, whether urban or rural communities.

Hence the above use of the rural setting is rhetorical in that it morally appeals to the people of South Africa that the A.N.C. can be trusted, that they are also humble, non-elitist and populist (for the people) and that the political party is truly concerned with the lives of the marginalised people of South Africa.

Therefore, the underlying latent, and manifest, ideological meaning of *Figure 7.6* suggests a “cultural nationalist ideology” which emotionally appeals to people, particularly previously marginalised, black South Africans. It makes use of the emotional appeal to rally behind the A.N.C. The rural setting can be seen as a call for unity and allegiance among black South Africans to support the A.N.C. (cf. Haywood 2003:167). The rural setting also symbolically “speaks” to black South Africans about their origin, heritage and identity. As millions of urban black South Africans originate from the rural areas of South Africa. It is thus expected that black people should remain loyal to the A.N.C., *the* liberation party, which fought apartheid and colonialism for many years, and claimed back their land. Hence, the above visual image also uses the “unification ideological technique”, which calls for a collective identity, and identification, with the A.N.C. (cf. Haywood 1998/2003). The above visual image also reminds black South Africans of a pre-colonial South Africa where communities were built around villages, and where values and cultures were nurtured for the overall wellbeing of society.

In the section below, the *My Vote* commercial is compared with the *2014 A.N.C. Commercial*.

7.5.2 The “2014 A.N.C. Commercial”: “Modality” as a dimension of social semiotics

The following screenshot extracted from the *2014 A.N.C. Commercial* includes the social semiotic dimension of modality/ies: industrialisation; modernity; capitalism and urbanisation.



Figure 7.7: The *2014 A.N.C. Commercial* suggests the representation of modality: a realistic, modern, commercial, city setting.

The image *2014 A.N.C. Commercial* depicts elevated light structures in the foreground and a skyscraper building structure in the background, with a row of street lights and array of trees alongside building structures. Again, the camera technique makes use of an X.L.S. to manifestly depict an urban setting, such as found in the City of Johannesburg, Cape Town or Durban with gleaming skyscrapers, advanced technological lighting and modern office buildings. The modality elements of the night time, outdoor urban setting, include skyscrapers; towering lights; parks in the city; advanced infrastructure and technology; which all represent an advanced and sophisticated human civilisation, development and modernity. Therefore, the underlying latent ideology inherent in this image is that of Eurocentrism, and a First World, liberal, capitalist democracy and economy. The lighting appearance further suggests a wealthy, advanced and industrial society. In addition, Alan Ryan (2012:99) argues that images of such city settings also represent human civilisation and modernity, which makes the lives of people more efficient and comfortable. It therefore further symbolises human care and empathy to others that allow humans to rise from

an “unnatural” and “uncivilised” society to a civilised, rational, society. Interestingly, the lighting also appears as an artificially constructed environment which is “unnatural” and “unreal”, which in many ways appears to be cold, anonymous, alienating and even inhumane.

In comparison to the *My Vote* commercial, the *2014 A.N.C. Commercial*’s use of the above extreme long shot is rhetorical in that it suggests a South Africa that is a progressive society; dynamic; innovative and wealthy; which changes (enriches) and empowers the lives of its citizens. The moral appeal of the urban setting is the portrayal of the ANC-led government moving South Africans from under-development to a more progressive; democratic; and industrious society. As such, the advertisement suggests through hard work and focus, South Africa could achieve greatness, be it through, or without, government intervention. The underlying ideological meaning of the above visual rhetoric resonates with the “liberal ideological construct”. Liberal ideology of the 20th century brought about the development of industrialisation, which has resulted in wealth creation through industrial development; investment in private property; business opportunities; and minimal government interference (cf. Haywood 1998/2003).

The *My Vote* and *2014 A.N.C. Commercial* use similar rhetorical extreme long camera shots. The two commercials, however, differ significantly in relation to the selection of the settings or location; the urban versus the rural setting; outdoor versus indoor setting; and day lighting versus dark lighting. The *My Vote* commercial uses bright colours and sunlight, or natural lighting, as the setting modality. This commercial further uses the modality of a rural setting which suggests the authenticity or naturalness. Which is then extended to the values of A.N.C. party, implying that the A.N.C. is mindful of the lost heritage of black South Africans and inferring that this heritage (and land, and identity) will be claimed back for all previously marginalised communities. It implies cohesion and a collective identity. In stark contrast, the *2014 A.N.C. Commercial* uses an artificial and environmentally constructed urban setting, such as the City of Johannesburg. The use of the urban setting suggests a progressive, dynamic and innovative society. But it also represents a cold; unfriendly; alienating; and uninviting society; which focuses on the individual to succeed in a capitalist environment.

In concluding the above section of analysis, the underlying latent and manifest ideological meanings of the above two political television commercials vary. The *My Vote* commercial represents the cultural nationalist ideological construct, whereas the *2014 A.N.C. Commercial* represents a modern liberal ideological construct (cf. Haywood 1998/2003).

The next section examines the fourth social semiotic dimension, namely genre.

7.6 GENRE AS A DIMENSION OF SOCIAL SEMIOTICS

In *Chapter Four*, genre was identified as one of the significant dimensions of social semiotics. In *Chapter Six*, the dimension of genre was identified in the analysis of verbal rhetoric in the A.N.C. television election campaign commercials. The next section discusses the following analysis of genre in the non-verbal rhetoric of three commercials: firstly, an analysis of how the dimension of genre is used in the visual images to create social meanings; secondly, an analysis of whether the latent and manifest ideological meanings are represented in the visual rhetoric; and thirdly, it deconstructs the latent and manifest ideological meanings of the selected commercials.

7.6.1 “My Vote”: Genre as a dimension of social semiotics

The following analysis focuses on the non-verbal aspect of rhetoric—that is, music as rhetoric, and music as a representation of a specific type of a genre.

Time	Shots	Voiceover	Musical composition
00:16	Long shot of a village setting.	No voiceover	A combination of a cello and violin with a lower and soft tune, a harp with a soft tune, followed by an attention-grabbing base drum beat, the piano, the clarinet and other musical instruments are used to produce a quick and explosive sound.
00:40	Close-up shot of the narrator	<i>“that was the beginning of an exciting road to a better life for all”</i>	A combination of a violin and cymbals are used to produce high and explosive sound.

00:56	A dissolve technique	<i>"We have seen people receive clean running water"</i>	A combination of a clarinet, cymbals and violin are used to produce high and explosive sound.
01:23	Close-up shot of the narrator	<i>"there is much that needs to be done"</i>	A violin uses a low and soft tune, followed by a brief interlude of silence.
01:25	Medium-long shot of the narrator	<i>"My vote is backing the ANC on all the good work"</i>	A combination of a violin and cymbals is used to produce a high and explosive sound tune.
01:35	Medium shot of the narrator	<i>"This is a message to you Nxamalala, head this call Msholozzi"</i>	A violin is used to produce a slow and a soft tune followed by a combination of a flute and a clarinet used to produce a soft tune.
01:39-01:44	Medium close-up shot of the narrator (A.N.C. President Zuma)	<i>"As South Africans we have achieved much in the last fifteen years"</i>	A combination of the clarinet, cymbals, triangle and the violin are used to produce high and explosive sound tune, followed by cymbals and the triangle are used repeatedly.
01:49-01:56	Medium close-up shot of the narrator (A.N.C. President Jacob Zuma)	<i>"So vote for a better life for all, Vote A.N.C."</i>	A combination of the choral sound, cymbals, violin and triangle are used repeatedly to produce a high and explosive sound tune.

Table: 7.1: Music as a representation of genre in the *My Vote* advertisement.

The above table points out the length (time) of the television election commercial, camera shots used in the political television commercial, voiceover, which narrates the television political commercial analysed in *Chapter Six* and the musical composition of the *My Vote* commercial. *Table 7.1* explains the use of music in the *My Vote* commercial. Although the visual images used in the *My Vote* commercial depicts the African rural village setting, and thus infers the representation of an Afrocentric visual rhetoric, the accompanying musical composition of the commercials is of the European classical music genre. Although the visual image is of the African rural setting, the musical composition contradicts the visual image setting in that it uses the European musical genre. The classical musical composition of the *My Vote*, such as the use of a combination of a cello and violin with a lower and soft tune, and the use of a harp with a soft tune, is rhetorically used to emotionally appeal to, or rather remind audiences of the painful and sad historical past of South Africa, where black people, in particular, and

coloureds and Indians, were oppressed and marginalised by the brutal apartheid government and the colonial power of Britain.

The underlying latent meaning of the use of European musical genre, particularly in the *My Vote* commercial is that it resonates with the South African narrative history and communicates on many levels of meaning through beauty; rhythm; tone; and, emotions—that is, it is very poignant. It infers the tragic historical past of South Africa brought by apartheid and colonialism. But it can also infer the excitement of the new South Africa and its challenges. Further, the underlying meaning of the use of classical music in the rural setting is that, classical music can be associated with “perfection”—hence a rural setting is associated with naturalness and authenticity, and ultimately represents the image of an ideal(ised), and even romanticised, perfect community/society.

It is the use of musical instruments such as the base drum beat, piano, clarinet and other musical instruments to produce a quick, busy and intense sound arouses excitement over the end of apartheid in 1994. And relief from the end of oppression and subjugation. The repeated use of a combination of clarinet, cymbals and violin musical instruments produces a high and explosive sound. These rhetorically suggest the exhilaration of a new, democratised South Africa. The repeated use of a combination of clarinets, cymbals and violin instruments used to produce high and explosive sound are accompanied by visual images of water; electricity; education; and, health in the *My Vote* commercial. The implication being that the A.N.C. government, has redressed past inequities with access to both economic and social opportunities. Amid the explosive sound, the violin is used to produce a measured and soft tune followed by a combination of flute and clarinet to enhance the gentleness of the tune. This tune rhetorically suggests that the A.N.C.-led government faces many challenges in the eradication of poverty and under-development among previously marginalised South Africans. Some of these challenges include violent service delivery protests; unemployment; the weak economy; corruption in government and the private sector; political and economic patronage; and factionalism in the A.N.C.

The underlying ideology of the above musical composition suggests a nationalist ideology and a unified country. According to Haywood (cf. 1998/2003), nationalism is the essence of a nation that psychologically bonds the nation together. As already postulated elsewhere, South Africa has bonded over the trauma and hardships of the previous regime and the liberation of South Africa from its oppressive past. In the representation of the underlying nationalist ideology, in the above musical rhetoric, the reification ideological technique is used. According to Thompson (cf. 1990), this reification ideological technique represents, or signifies, past and present historical events. In line with that, this advertisement represents South Africa's past (pre-colonial and pre-imperial) and presents a contemporary South Africa with a redressed past, all ushered in by the A.N.C-led government.

The next section deals with the analysis of the genre of music in the *Woman Next Door* commercial.

7.6.2 The “Woman Next Door”: Genre as a dimension of social semiotics

The following analysis focuses on music as a genre in the *Woman Next Door* commercial.

Time	Shots	Voiceover	Musical composition
00:01-00:02	Medium long shot, zooming out.	<i>“We have really come a long way as women”</i>	The piano is used with a soft tune.
00:30-00:39	Close-up shot.	<i>“vote for a better life for all, vote A.N.C., ‘igama lamakhosikazi malibongwe”</i>	A repetition is used in the isiZulu hymn <i>“Igama lamakhosikazi malibongwe”</i> .

Table 7.2: Music genre as represented in the *Woman Next Door* television political commercial.

The above table indicates the length (time) of the television election commercial, the camera shots used, and the voiceover, which narrates the television political commercial analysed in *Chapter Six*, and the musical composition of the *Woman Next*

Door commercial. *Table 7.2* also explains the use of music in the commercial. The opening music in the commercial uses the piano with a soft tune. As in *Table 7.1*, which dealt with the *My Vote* commercial, the use of the piano with a gentle harmony, in the *Woman Next Door* is rhetorically used to remind South African women, specifically black, coloured and Indian women, of the brutal and tragic historical past of South Africa. The opening piano sound with a gentle melody is followed by the *isiZulu* musical hymn “*Igama lamakhosikzi malibongwe*”, which means “give praises to women”. The *isiZulu* hymn is accompanied by the visual image of a medium close-up shot of a flying A.N.C. flag which symbolically suggests that the A.N.C. is a symbol of the liberation of women from violent oppression and colonialism. Although the advertisement represents a Western image of the economic empowerment of women (owning her own B&B), the background music is an African traditional hymn, and resonates with the representation of African women in the modern environment. In other words, although African women have progressed according to Western standards, they continue to retain their African identity as women, in a changing world. The *isiZulu* hymn is also linked to the following historical visual image of the women’s protest march to the Union Buildings.



Figure 7.8: The *Woman Next Door* television election campaign commercial suggests the representation of a genre situated within a specific historical time or period; that is, during apartheid.

The above figure is a screenshot of the *Woman Next Door* commercial, which depicts women in a black and white still image. The above figure represents the genre of a particular historical period of the 1950's in which South African women were increasingly becoming conscious of their economic, social and political circumstances, and as such, they resolved them by responding to their plight by protesting to the government authorities. As stated in *Chapter Six*, the manifest meaning of the above musical and visual image genre suggests that in August 1956, South African women of all races, namely black, white, coloured and Indian marched to the Union Buildings in Pretoria, South Africa, to present the then Prime Minister, Hans Strijdom, with a petition to abandon the pass permit laws which were used to control the movement of black women from travelling from the rural areas to the urban cities of South Africa in search of employment opportunities (Wells 1983:57).

The underlying latent meaning of the above musical and visual image rhetoric suggests the following. Firstly, it suggests an element of organisation among women—that is, women coming together to respond to a dysfunctional patriarchal system of male domination and oppression. Secondly, the organisation of women sought to embrace an alternative that gave them an agency to resist and liberate themselves from the irrational oppression of the white patriarchal system. Thirdly, the musical rhetoric provides them with the agency of self-identity, the significance of gender and women's position in overall society. Fourthly, the underlying latent meaning suggests the inherent symbolic meaning of strength, struggle and endurance of women under trying circumstances such as apartheid and colonialism in South Africa, in which women were deprived of their civil rights such as freedom of movement, and the right to education and shelter, on the basis of their gender and race.

As pointed out in *Chapter Six*, the underlying ideology of the above musical rhetoric suggests liberal feminism (cf. Haywood 1998/2003), whereby women demand to be recognised as individuals who deserve equal treatment with their male counterparts. That speaks, to the end of marginalisation of and discrimination against women in South Africa.

The above musical rhetoric also uses the legitimisation,⁸⁰ ideological strategy which defends and justifies the demands of equality of women against the privileged and domineering white patriarchal system (Thompson 1990).

Like the *My Vote* and the *Woman Next Door*, the next section focuses on the 2014 A.N.C. Commercial campaign, by analysing the music genre in the television elections commercial.

7.6.3 The “2014 A.N.C. Commercial”: Genre as a dimension of social semiotics

Regarding the 2014 A.N.C. Commercial, the following table analyses music as a dimension of genre.

Time	Voiceover	Musical composition
00:01-00:07	<i>“So they say this country is going backwards. Every day we hear one negative or the other”</i>	A mixture of the cello and the piano are used. The cello uses a slow, melodic and gentle tune, while the piano uses a slow and high key tune.
00:13-00:33	<i>“Just yesterday we gave birth to democracy. Although they said we are too young and inexperienced. We kept building, while they are talking, we were building a nation we can all live in with freedom and equality”</i>	A combination of the musical instruments such as the cello, piano and a French horn are used. The cello uses a slow and soft tune, the piano uses a slow and high key tune, and the French horn combines a slow and high tune.
00:34-00:39	<i>“Now South Africa is in a better place than it was twenty years ago”</i>	The following musical instruments are used: snare drums, the cello and the violin, which are all in a high tune.

⁸⁰ The “legitimisation ideological technique” is used to defend and justify the established and dominant ideological technique in the latent meaning of visual, verbal and non-verbal rhetoric (cf. Thompson 1990:62).

00:40- 00:41	<i>"Over the next five years we will invest more in" infrastructure"</i>	A blend of musical instruments is used: the snare drums, the cello, the violin and the French horn are all in a high-pitched tune.
00:43 00:45	<i>"Give more families free access to health care"</i>	There is a repetition of the use of the snare drums, the cello, the violin and the French horn, all in a high tune
00:50- 00:57	<i>"Let us continue to build, because together we move South Africa forward," Vote ANC! A better life for all"</i>	A combination of musical instruments is used, with the cello and the violin in a low tune, and the piano in a slow harmony.

Table 7.3: A representation of the genre of music, in the 2014 A.N.C. Commercial.

The above table (*Table 7.3*) indicates the length (time) of the commercial, the shots used in it, and the voiceover which narrates the commercial (cf. *Chapter Six*), and the musical composition of the commercial.

In *Table 7.3* it is documented that the commercial uses the genre of French classical music. At the opening of the commercial, the cello uses slow and soft tunes, while the piano uses slow and high key tunes, to suggest the parlous state of the political and economic situation in the South African nation, while the cello uses a slow and soft tune, the piano uses some slow and high key tunes, the French horn uses a slow and high tune. The significance of the use of the French horn in the *2014 A.N.C. Commercial* signifies the important moment of the A.N.C.-led government post-1994. A moment is given to the A.N.C. achievements such as the adoption of the national constitution; and the roll-out of the R.D.P. through the building of houses, schools, hospitals, roads and railways lines. At the height of commercial, the music uses a combination of musical instruments, with a snare drum, a cello and a French horn all with a high tune. The above combination of the high musical composition are played to following accompanying visual images:



Figure 7.9: The 2014 A.N.C. Commercial represents a multiracial society in South Africa: the upper right corner represents a working class black family; the lower right corner represents the black family's involvement in the education of children, the lower left corner represents Malay of the Malaysian and Indian descent family. The upper left corner represents a white family of European descent. The above portrays South Africa as a multi-racial/multi-cultural society.

Figure 7.9 has visual images, screenshots taken from the 2014 A.N.C. Commercial, which represents a multiracial South African society. Thus, the use of the French horn in relation to the selected visual images suggests the following: firstly, the French horn suggests the European standard which is an extremely Western construct. Secondly, the French high tune emphasises the moral appeal as well as the issue and policy appeals. The underlying meaning of the moral appeal is the call for social cohesion, that is, a non-racial South African and multicultural society, which further suggests a progressive, integrated and dynamic society. One that has successfully transcended issues of race, and overcome oppression and socio-economic challenges. The issue appeal is also found in the following accompanying visual images (Figure 7.10), which emphasises investment in economic infrastructure; and in education; training;

health care; and, employment creation.

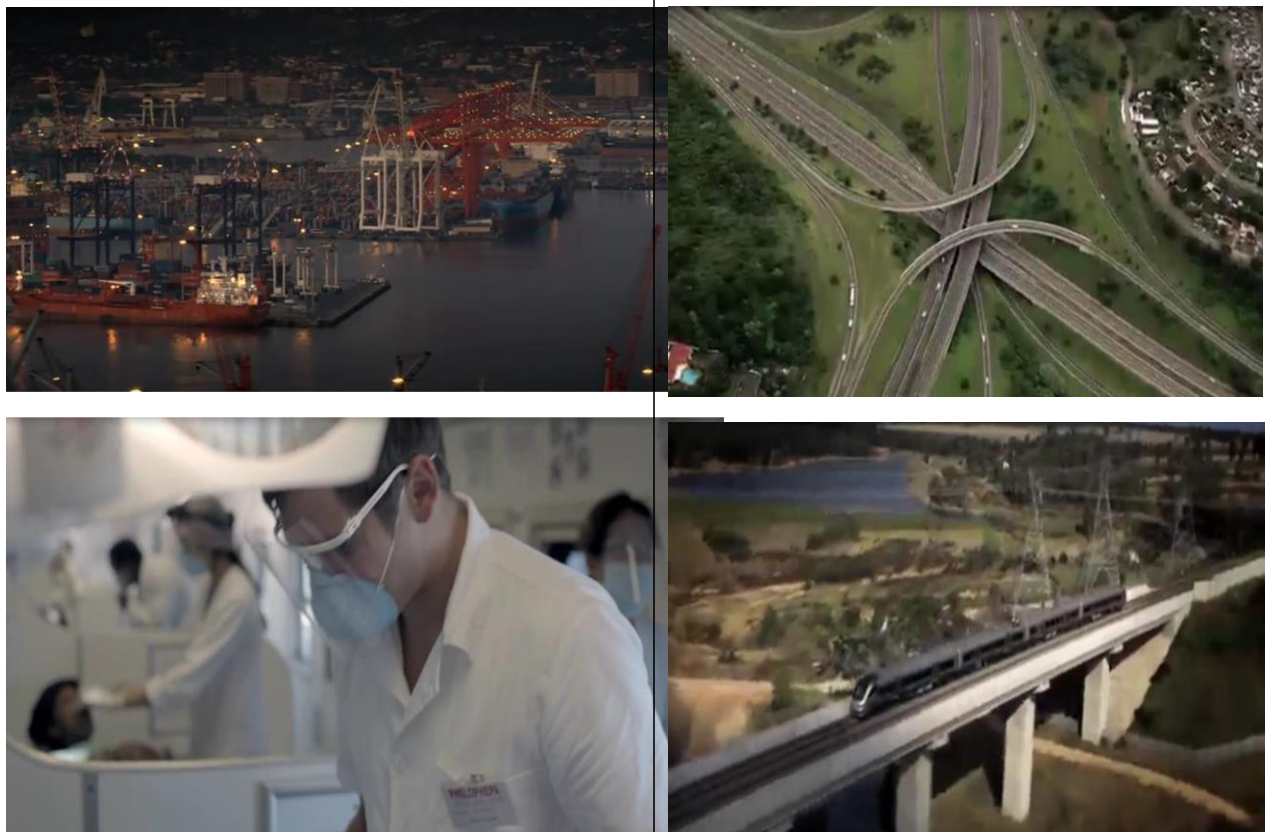


Figure 7.10: The 2014 A.N.C. *Commercial* represents an advanced economic infrastructure and health services in South Africa: The *upper right corner* represents a road network; the *lower right corner* represents rapid rail public transport between Johannesburg and Pretoria; the *lower left corner* represents high-tech medical facilities in South Africa; and the *upper left corner* represents sea port gantries.

Secondly, the high tune of the French horn is accompanied by the above visual images of the latest technology, which include public trains; sophisticated road networks; a world-class health system; and, world-class buildings. The above use of the French horn is rhetorically used to suggest the elite culture of South African society, with an internationally competitive economy in the context of the developing region of the African continent. Thirdly, the representation of white people in the visual images suggests that South Africa is an advanced and progressive society in the developing world. Whites traditionally have been associated with sophistication; education; success; and a high quality of life.

The underlying latent and manifest ideological meaning of the use of French classical music, suggests a modern liberalist and capitalist ideology in which government has minimal intervention in the running of the economy of the country. The emphasis is on the creation of business opportunities, investment in private property, increased investment in industrial development and government spending on welfare for the poor (cf. Haywood 1998/2003). The musical genre uses the ideological technique of “unification”. According to Thompson (cf. 1990), the unification strategy suggests a collective effort both by government and private entities in the building of the future of South Africa. It further emphasises a unification of all races and cultures.

In concluding the foregoing section of this chapter, it is important to briefly point out the underlying similarities and differences between the *2014 A.N.C. Commercial* campaign, with that of the 2009 advertisements. In the analysis of the above music genre, the study discovered that the underlying rhetoric of the music genre of the *2014 A.N.C. Commercial* is in stark contrast to the *My Vote* and the *Woman Next Door* commercials. The *My Vote* uses European classical music with slow and soft tunes reminding South Africans of the brutal past of the apartheid and colonial era, while the high and explosive sound tunes suggest rhetorically the post-1994 era under the A.N.C.-led government where the previously marginalised South Africans particularly blacks, coloured and Indians, were excluded from the main stream economy, political and social structures of South African society.

The musical genre of the *Woman Next Door* commercial is different from both the *My Vote* and the *2014 A.N.C. Commercial*, in that it uses an African *isiZulu* vernacular hymn called praises be given to women. The use of the *isiZulu* hymn rhetorically acknowledges the significant role of women in the struggle against colonialism and apartheid. However, both 2009 advertisements visually and musically appeal to nostalgia (*My Vote* references a pre-colonial era; *Woman Next Door* references black women’s role in the fight against apartheid) and both include reminders of the inhumane apartheid regime. The predominant European music genre of the *2014 A.N.C. Commercial* is vastly different from the 2009 commercials in that the music rhetorically

elevates South Africa to being an elite society, which is progressive, has advanced infrastructure; and, is politically stable.

The next section considers the last dimension of social semiotics, namely myth, in the analysis of the visual images of the three commercials.

7.7 MYTH: AS A DIMENSION OF SOCIAL SEMIOTICS

In *Chapter Four*, myth was identified as the fifth significant dimension of social semiotics, while in *Chapter Six*, the aspects of myth were identified in the interpretation of verbal rhetoric. In this section, the focus is on the significance of myth in visual and non-verbal rhetoric. According to Nimmo and Combs (cf. 1980), myth is described as the common belief shared by a large group of people that gives events, and actions, a particular meaning. In the context of visual and non-verbal rhetoric, myth is concerned with the representation of the national values shared by the overall society, the “us” and “them” myth and the heroic myth.

This section therefore focuses on two types of myth, namely the “us” and “them” myth; and, the heroic myth. Firstly, the following section analyses whether the *My Vote*, the *Woman Next Door* and the *2014 A.N.C. Commercial* use the dimension of myth in the visual and non-verbal rhetoric to create social meaning (within the text itself). Secondly, it analyses whether the “us” and “them” myth, and the heroic myth, possess any latent and/or manifest meanings. Thirdly, it analyses whether the representation of the “us” and “them” myth, and the heroic myth, in the visual and non-verbal rhetoric, possess any ideological meanings.

7.7.1 “My Vote”: “Heroic” myth as a dimension of social semiotics

In the following visual image of the *My Vote* commercial, the dimension of myth is deconstructed:



Figure 7.11:

The *My Vote* advertisement suggests the representation of the “heroic” myth in the context of South Africa’s unique past and the release of Mr Nelson Mandela. That is, Mr Mandela is a hero of the nation.

Figure 7.11 is a screenshot of the *My Vote* commercial depicting Mr Nelson Mandela (1918-2013) walking with Mrs Winnie Madikizela-Mandela (1936-) raising clenched fists, and accompanied by a crowd of people. The camera technique used is that of a long shot (henceforth, L.S.).⁸¹ Mr Nelson Mandela and his then wife, Mrs Winnie Madikizela-Mandela, are accompanied by a crowd of political officials and security guards upon the release. This appears to be actual documentary footage from the day of Mr. Mandela’s release on 11 February 1990, from the Victor Verster Prison near Paarl. This was after 27 years of imprisonment on Robben Island, in Pollsmore and Victor Verster Prisons. The underlying meaning of the rhetorical use of the long shot in the above visual image is to emphasise the significance of the heroic figure, in this case, Mr Mandela, and place it into the context of South Africa history: his “heroism” gave birth to a democratic nation.

The above visual image of the release of Mr Nelson Mandela has the following latent meaning: the raised clenched fists of Mr Mandela and Mrs Madikizela-Mandela are

⁸¹ A “long shot” camera angle (L.S.) is described as a shot that shows the full length of a person (or that shows a building from a distance) (cf. Zettl 2008). It is used to show context and place (cf. Giannetti 2005; Zettle 1992 and 2008).

symbolic, in that they symbolise an act of defiance and solidarity commonly associated with the struggle of a marginalised and oppressed group of people fighting for justice and freedom on behalf of the oppressed (Seidman 2007:38). The visual image rhetorically represents Mr Mandela and Mrs Madikizela-Mandela, as the A.N.C. hero and heroine of the liberation struggle, fighters of the anti-apartheid movement. In *Chapter Four*, the “hero” (and “heroine”) myth is described as popular figures such as political figures and political parties who have historical credentials for fighting for the injustices and human rights violation of their people (cf. Nimmo & Combs 1980). There can be no doubt that the inclusion of this footage into the advertisement is to remind all South Africans who liberated South Africa. However, it has taken on mythical proportions as Mr. Mandela and Mr. Madikizela-Mandela are framed as if they were the sole liberators of South Africa. The “heroic” myth around Mr Mandela was historically constructed largely by his early biographers, the A.N.C. and the liberal media both in South Africa and abroad. His early biographer of the 1960s, Mary Benson, wrote several biographical books of Mr Mandela and the historical struggles of the A.N.C., which were reviewed for this study. One of which is entitled *Nelson Mandela: The Man and the Movement*, which privileges Mr. Mandela as a leader of the struggle of all of the oppressed masses, and in doing so several other key role players in the A.N.C. struggle movement such as, Chief Albert Luthuli, a Nobel Peace Laureate, members of the A.N.C. were overlooked or even excluded. The A.N.C members of the National Executive Committee (henceforth, N.E.C.), such as Mr Walter Sisulu, Mr Oliver Tambo, Mr Robert Resha and Mr Nelson Mandela himself, were all charged for treason (among 156 people) in South Africa. After the treason trial, Mr Mandela went underground, and became the most wanted man by the Nationalist Party. It was during this period that Mr Mandela was privileged over other executive members of the A.N.C. to become the most famous “terrorist”, and the media dubbed him, the “Black Pimpernel” (Benson 1986:70-71). The limitation of the Benson (1986) work, however, is that it overlooked the shortcomings of the personal life of Mr Mandela such as his decision to divorce his first wife, Mrs Evelyn Mandela, the mother of his children, in favour of active involvement in the political struggle of South Africa. Thus, Benson (1986) significantly constructed Mr Mandela as a “hero”, and even as a saint, of the A.N.C., privileging him

over other executive members of the A.N.C. (Solani 2000:47).

Another biographer who elevated Mr Mandela to hero status is Professor Fatima Meer, in her book entitled *Higher than Hope: “Rolihlahla we love you”: Nelson Mandela’s Biography on his 70th Birthday*, released in the late 1980s. Meer (1988), provides a narration of Mr Mandela who is represented as if he is a leader who led the struggle against apartheid behind bars, notwithstanding the other A.N.C. political prisoners who were incarcerated with him (such as Mr Govan Mbeki, Mr Walter Sisulu, Mr Raymond Mhlaba and Mr Ahmed Kathrada). Other key A.N.C. leaders such as Mr Oliver Tambo were in exile where he served as the president of the A.N.C. in 1970s and the 1980s. Mr Tambo served as the Commander in Chief of the *UmkhontoSizwe* (henceforth, M.K.). Under his leadership, the A.N.C. was highly respected on the African continent, in Europe, Asia and the Americas, and he raised the prestige and status of the A.N.C. internationally. While in exile, Mr Tambo played a significant role towards mobilising the international community to impose economic sanctions against South Africa (Baai 2006:161). As a result, by the 1980s, South Africa was feeling the heat of the international economic (and other) sanctions imposed on it. At the same time, different civic movements under the banner of the United Democratic Front (henceforth, U.D.F.) were destabilising South Africa politically and economically in order to topple the N.P. government. Under this mounting pressure, Mr Oliver Tambo, the then A.N.C. president called upon all political forces to “make South Africa ungovernable” (Mashele & Qobo 2014:120).

The media also contributed towards the creation of the “heroic” myth of Mr Nelson Mandela. Upon his release in 1990, Mr Mandela restated his commitment to the armed forces of *Umkhonto we Sizwe*—“A People’s Army” (henceforth, M.K.; “*The Spear of the Nation*”) as well as the retention of the economic sanctions and the isolation of South Africa as significant. His speech was against the expectation of the international media, to which it was described as “hostile and militant, without humanity, peace, or vision” (Jeffery 2009:236). The local and international liberal media viewed his commitment to the M.K. as a revolutionary gesture of an un-repentant “terrorist”. At the same time

questioning his commitment to a peaceful resolution of the country's problems in the light of the commitment displayed by the then N.P. leader and South African president Mr F.W. de Klerk to release Mr Mandela (Jeffery 2009:237). However, the negative image of Mr Mandela as a revolutionary fighter changed tremendously soon after the C.O.D.E.S.A. negotiations. The liberal media for the most part hailed him as "reconciliatory" and "a forgiver" without privileging or recognising the role played by Mr de Klerk who significantly contributed towards a peaceful resolution of the South African transition (Solani 2000:47).

Also, the rhetorical use of the long shot in the *My Vote* commercial is to focus on the significance of Mrs Madikizela-Mandela as the heroine. A myth which was also crafted by the A.N.C. so much so that she was passionately called the "mother of the nation" (Solani 2000:48). While Mr Mandela was imprisoned, she continued with the struggle against apartheid, and was an inspiration to the youth who saw her as an example who political activist families should emulate—that is, in the face of adversity, an activist does not relent in the face of the enemy. She continued to work closely with, and took care of the youth of Soweto, such that she developed a soccer team for the Soweto youth. Although she is seen as a heroine in the A.N.C. and among South Africans, in 1991 she was charged with the kidnapping and murder of 15-years old, Stompie James Seipei (1974-1989), who was believed to be an informant agent of the then South African Police (Daley 1997). She was elected president of the A.N.C. Women's League, a position which she held until 2003 (Meintjes 1998).

The above visual image (*Figure 7. 11*) therefore, rhetorically represents the underlying ideological construct of nationalism. In *Chapter Four*, nationalism was described as the prevailing attitudes and values that hold the nation together (cf. Cannor 1994). In this context, Mr Mandela is seen as the heroic icon of "reconciliation" among South Africans, while Mrs Madikizela-Mandela is seen as the heroine icon of the "mother of the nation". Hence both of them are ideologically represented as the heroes in the visual image, and they also infer ideological unification. That is, a collective victory and a racially unified, unsegregated country. Thompson (cf. 1990) views the unification ideology as collective

identification which are diffused throughout society.

Like the *My Vote* commercial, the *2014 A.N.C. Commercial* represents the heroic myth of Mr Nelson Mandela as the leader of the party and the A.N.C as a political organisation.



Figure 7.12: The *2014 A.N.C. Commercial* suggests the representation of the heroic myth of Mr Mandela, within the specific context of apartheid and the beginning of democracy.

The above figure depicts a screen shot of the face of a black male youth at the centre of the visual image. There are images of Mr Nelson Mandela in the foreground, looking back at him as he watches Mr Mandela on a television screen, through a glass window shop. Mr Mandela has his fist raised in defiance, and there are masses in the background.

This figure depicts a visual image of a medium close-up (M.C.U.) camera shot of Mr Mandela clenching his right-hand fist as a symbolic sign of solidarity. In the middle of the medium-close-up shot, a close-up reflective face of a black male youth appears amid two identical images of Mr Mandela. The use of a face of a black youth in between the visual image of Mr Mandela is rhetorical in that it suggests numerous latent meanings. Firstly, it suggests that the democracy of South Africa is young. South Africa

attained its democracy in 1994, with Mr Mandela as the first democratically elected president of South Africa until 1999 with Mr Thabo Mbeki becoming the President of the A.N.C. taking over until 2009, when Mr Jacob Zuma took office. Thus, at the time of the death of Mr Mandela in 2013, democratic South Africa was only 19 years old, which thus makes South Africa a young democracy.

Secondly, the image of an old Mr Mandela suggests that the A.N.C. is an old African political party. At the time of this advertisement, the A.N.C. had survived over a hundred years of the struggle against colonialism and apartheid. The A.N.C. *is a hundred* years old, which makes it one of the oldest liberation political parties in Africa with reputable credentials of the struggle against injustices the colonialism and apartheid. At the time of this advertisement, the A.N.C. was embroiled in numerous scandals of corruption; factionalism; and mismanagement of public funds (Hunter & Letsoalo 2014; Munusamy 2014). Thus, the use of the visual image of Mr Mandela as an old man rhetorically speaks to the wealth of experience and which is an “earnest appeal” to the electorate to trust the A.N.C. Thirdly, the use of a close-up shot of a face of a youth rhetorically suggests that the future of South Africa hinges on the A.N.C. The A.N.C. has many opportunities to be a leading political party of the future, but the growing concern among South Africans is the increasing corruption scandals that have embroiled the A.N.C, the use of state resources to enrich individuals, usually the politically connected, and lack of accountability among politicians. Also of concern is poor service delivery in local government that leads to violent protests in various poor communities such as rural villages and townships, and the continued increase of socio-economic inequality among South Africans, to mention but a few (Mashele & Qobo 2014). These are concerns that will test the future of the A.N.C. and whether it is fit to lead the masses for the imminent future.

Unlike the *My Vote* commercial, the *2014 A.N.C. Commercial* depicts Mr Mandela alone, without the company of his ex-wife, Mrs Madikizela-Mandela. The underlying latent meaning of the visual image of Mr Mandela thus suggests that the A.N.C. honours the legacy of Mr Mandela to the A.N.C. and to the people of South Africa and,

Africa as a whole. Since Mr Mandela is an icon of the liberation of the people of South Africa under the apartheid regime, it can be said that the latent meaning of the above visual image suggests that the A.N.C. is still regarded as a liberation movement among voters.

In the next commercial, the *Woman Next Door*, the heroic myth of the A.N.C. as a political party overall, is depicted.

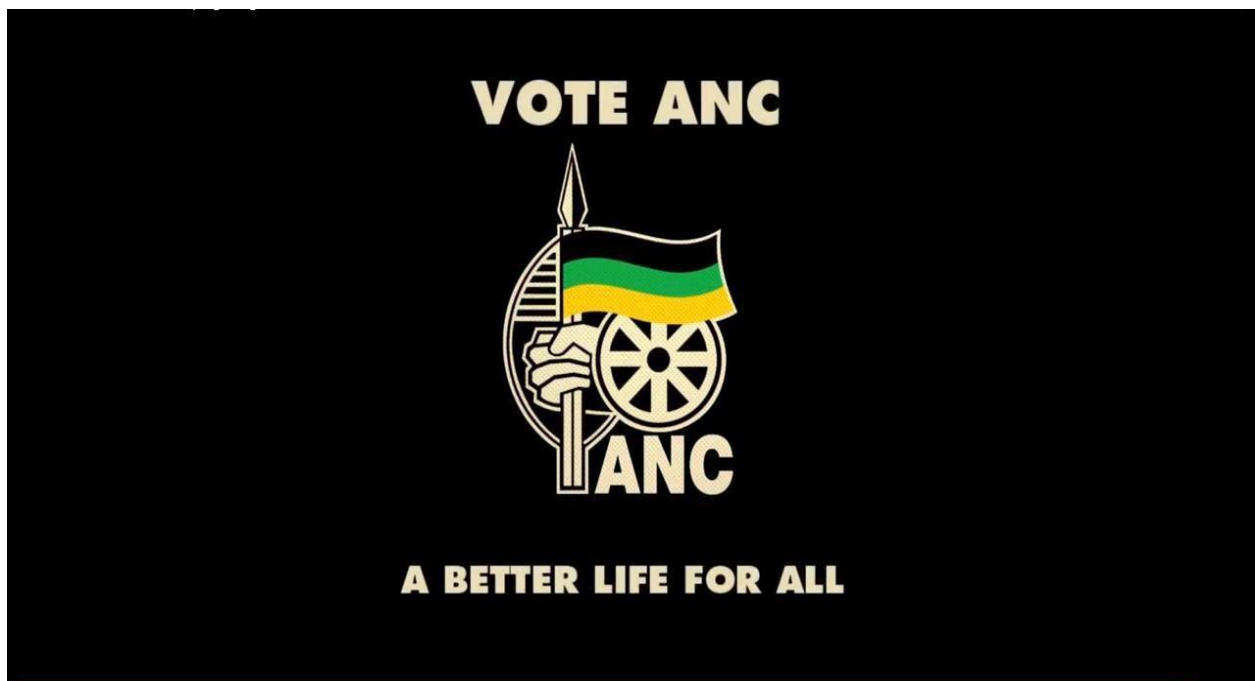


Figure 7.13: A screenshot from the *Woman Next Door* commercial suggests the representation of the “heroic” myth, but it is the A.N.C. as an organisation, that is the “hero” (to all those that they liberated from apartheid and colonialism).

Figure 7.13 is a screenshot of the *Woman Next Door* commercial depicting the A.N.C. logo, a wheel, a spear, with a clenched fist, a shield, the A.N.C. flag with gold, green and black colour bands, the word “A.N.C” written underneath a wheel and below the logo the A.N.C. slogan “A BETTER LIFE FOR ALL” is written in white on the black background. This image (*Figure 7.13*) is depicted through the use of a medium close-up camera shot. The camera shot rhetorically suggests that the A.N.C. is the self-centred hero, and liberator of the South African people from the apartheid regime. At the same

time, the narrative myth of the A.N.C. suggests the underlying “us” and “them” myth, which does not recognise the role played by the anti-apartheid movement such as the Australian Anti-Apartheid Movement (henceforth, A.A.A.M.); and a London-based Independent Anti-Apartheid Movement (henceforth, I.A.A.M.), which contributed to the fall of apartheid. The myth does not recognise the U.S. economic sanctions against South Africa which put pressure on the N.P. government in the mid-1980s. In addition, the foregoing heroic myth does not recognise the significant end of the Cold War in 1989-1990 between the then Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (henceforth, U.S.S.R.) and the West (Western Europe and North America), which led to the end of an era in which many Marxist-backed liberation movements of Southern Africa such as the A.N.C. with its military wing M.K.; *Frente de Libertação de Moçambique* ⁸² (henceforth, F.R.E.L.I.M.O.); *Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola* ⁸³ (henceforth, M.P.L.A.); South West Africa People’s Organisation (henceforth, S.W.A.P.O.); and the Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (henceforth, Z.A.N.U.-P.F.). All of whom who could no longer look to the Soviet Union for political, ideological, financial and military training support (Graham 2014:178). In the case of the South African liberation movements such as the Azanian People’s Organisation (henceforth, A.Z.A.P.O.); the Pan African Congress (P.A.C.); and its military wing, the Azanian People’s Liberation Army (henceforth, A.P.L.A.); were also inversely affected by these developments (Rich 1993:320). Thus, it was evident that no more support would be forthcoming from the Soviet Union. It is in part these circumstances which led the A.N.C. to seek negotiations with the N.P. government. Also, while the South African anti-apartheid liberation movements such as the P.A.C. and the S.A.C.P. were in exile, the U.D.F., a mass democratic movement which was established in South Africa in 1983, took on a pivotal role in fighting apartheid. The U.D.F. pursued a strategy known as “ungovernability”, that is, to make South Africa ungovernable through political violence (Seidman 2007:127).⁸⁴

⁸² Mozambique Liberation Front.

⁸³ Mozambique Liberation Front.

⁸³ People’s Movement for the Liberation of Angola.

⁸⁴ The U.D.F. movement was in coalition with over four hundred civic organisations, such as churches; student organisations; trade unions, such as C.O.S.A.T.U., the South African Mine Workers Union

Despite all the collective effort from different quarters of society, both locally and internationally, to topple the apartheid regime, the A.N.C. in the post-apartheid South Africa mythological narrative it fosters, excludes and denigrates the role of other political movements such as the above-mentioned A.Z.A.P.O.; P.A.C.; and, the U.D.F. In addition, the A.N.C. has continually portrayed itself as the *only* people's liberation movement whose identity is tied to the aspirations of the black majority. In view of this, Mr Prince Mashele and Mr Mzukisi Qobo (2014:75), South African political analysts, reason that the A.N.C. has framed its image as *the* "saviour" and *the* "hero" of South Africa. It is the A.N.C., and only the A.N.C., that will rescue oppressed South Africans from apartheid and colonialism. It has made black South Africans believe that its military wing, M.K., was well fortified to fight the then well-equipped South African Defence Force (henceforth, S.A.D.F.). Because of this, the party has induced a long-lasting feeling of indebtedness of South Africans to the party.

Like the *My Vote* and the *2014 A.N.C. Commercial*, the *Woman Next Door* commercial rhetorically uses the ideological construct of "nationalism", and makes use of beliefs and values that bind the nation together (cf. Cannor 1994). The above visual images remind South Africans of the historical past with Mr Mandela leading the charge of liberation and reconciliation while the A.N.C.-led the struggle against apartheid and colonialism.

In concluding the above analysis, the significance of the heroic myth reveals that both the *My Vote* and the *2014 A.N.C. Commercial* rhetorically use the heroic myth within the visual images to create the meaning that only certain individuals are the hero and heroine of the struggle for the liberation. The visual images also position the A.N.C. as *the* only "hero" and only "saviour" of all marginalised people in South Africa. In doing so, it dismisses the role, and significant contributions, of all other liberation leaders and anti-apartheid organisations.

(henceforth, S.A.M.W.U.); women organisations, and in some cases, it was linked directly with the A.N.C. (Seidman 2007:127).

7.7.2 “Master” myth

This section focuses on the analysis of the representation of the “master” myth as represented in the visual images of the *2014 A.N.C. Commercial*. In *Chapter Four*, the “master” myth was defined as an overarching rhetorical myth which constitutes a collective consciousness for the entire society which, *inter alia*, constitutes the national values shared by this overall society (Nimmo & Combs 1980:27).



Figure 7.14: The screenshot from the *2014 A.N.C. Commercial* suggests the representation of the “master” myth: the collective historical, social and cultural South Africa, as inclusive of all races and ethnicities, no matter their political affiliations.

Figure 7.14 is a screenshot of the *2014 A.N.C. Commercial* depicting a South African national flag which has the blue, white and green, with a V shaped yellow and black band. This figure rhetorically depicts a medium close-up (M.C.U.) visual image of the South African national flag. The underlying latent meaning of the “master” myth rhetorically suggests through the placement of the South African flag, in other words, with emphasis on the South African flag and not the A.N.C. flag, that the A.N.C.-led government has built a non-racial and a non-sexist South African society. This further implies that all South Africans, of all races, live together in equality and freedom. The visual image of the South African national flag, with the symbolic V form, flowing into a

single horizontal band to the outer edge of the flag, can be interpreted as the convergence of the diverse elements of society such as the multiracial and the multicultural society of the South African society—hence the “rainbow nation”. The latent inference is that it was the A.N.C. alone that unified South Africa.

While the *2014 A.N.C. Commercial* rhetorically uses the “master” myth, the *My Vote* and the *Woman Next Door* commercials do not. The above representation of the master myth in the *2014 A.N.C. Commercial* uses the underlying “nationalist” ideology. *Chapter Four* of this study described the nationalist ideology as the essence of a nation that has a psychological bond and binds different people in a subconscious conviction (cf. Cannor 1993:930). What is further meant by nationalism, suggests that what people believe in; their prevailing attitudes; and, the values that the nation holds dear (such as multiculturalism and multiracialism) are held in high esteem and by extension, are implemented by the A.N.C.-led government. The nationalist ideology in the above visual image rhetorically uses the ideological “legitimisation” technique which justifies and defends the established set of social relations, such as multiracialism and multiculturalism (cf. Thompson 1990).

In concluding the above section on social semiotic dimension of myth and its role in the creation of social meaning, within the texts, the following was identified: two significant types of myth are used in the advertisements, namely the “heroic” myth and the “master” myth. The heroic myth is represented by both the latent and manifest meanings of the *My Vote*, the *Woman Next Door* and the *2014 A.N.C. Commercial*. In the *My Vote* and the *2014 A.N.C. Commercial*, the heroic myth is represented by the visual representation of Mr Nelson Mandela. While the heroic myth is also represented by the visual representation of the A.N.C. as a liberation organisation, or rather, *the* liberation organisation. The underlying latent and manifest ideological meaning of the above A.N.C. commercials suggests the nationalist ideological construct (cf. Haywood 1998/2003). The analysis of myth also found that only one of the three A.N.C. advertisements represent the master myth. The master myth is most significantly represented in the *2014 A.N.C. Commercial*, but not in the *My Vote* and *Woman Next*

Door commercials. Like the heroic myth, the underlying latent and manifest ideological meaning of the master myth in the *2014 A.N.C. Commercial* is the nationalist ideological construct. In other words, through the use of the “master” myth, the A.N.C. has led South Africa into a new socio-political era, one in which the entire country is unified and transcends issues such as race; and ethnicity.

In the next section of this chapter the focus is on ascertaining whether the three A.N.C. political television commercials represent Afrocentrism and/or Eurocentrism.

7.8 AFROCENTRISM AND EUROCENTRISM

This specific section the study arrives at the fourth assumption and research sub- problem of the research, which involves ascertaining whether the Afrocentric or Eurocentric postcolonial perspectives are represented in the advertisements non-verbal and visual rhetoric. It will also discern whether there are any forms of similarities or differences in the advertisements.



Figure 7.15: The *My Vote* political television commercial uses daytime; outdoor lighting; in an Afrocentric postcolonial setting.

The above figure is a screenshot of the *My Vote* commercial which depicts an old man,

Mr Xaba, sitting on a bench, wearing a brown suit with a brown hat and in possession of a walking stick. Behind the old man, there are two light blue houses with a rain water tank, laundry hanging on a washing line, green grass and another mud house without a door. Behind the two houses, there are electricity cables. Mr Xaba, is seated in the sunny backyard, on a white bench, against the green lawn and two village houses. One house is built out of bricks, with red corrugated iron roof, with a water tank painted light blue, a step ladder leaning against a wall and laundry hanging on a washing line. The other house is a *rondavel* built out of mud without a door and a window frame; and in place of a window, there is a small hole used for lighting and ventilation. In Setswana, such windows or small holes are called “*seokomela bagwe*”.⁸⁵

Like the other house, the mud *rondavel* has a red corrugated iron roof painted in light green paint. Lighting, as a camera technique is described as a form of radiant energy that can be manipulated for different purposes (Zettl 2008:19). As such, the daytime lighting is used rhetorically. The type of daytime lighting used here is high-key lighting in which both the subject, Mr Xaba, and the background, such as the village houses, are illuminated. Thus, the underlying rhetorical meaning of the use of daytime lighting suggests a “normal” and a “stable” world without danger or ambiguity. However, the visual image suggests the underlying Afrocentric postcolonial perspective. In *Chapter Two*, the Afrocentric postcolonial perspective was described as all forms of African life, culture, economics, education, gender, history, language, psychology, politics, religion and social factors, which are significantly placed at the centre of an African perspective rather than the Eurocentric perspective (cf. Asante 2002).

Although the Afrocentric perspective is all-encompassing of the different fields of study, key to Asante’s (cf. 2002) analysis is the fact that Afrocentrism in the field of communication is specifically concerned with rhetoric. According to Asante (cf. 2002), the nature of Afrocentric rhetoric in the context of communication, is concerned with the

⁸⁵ A small window, during the bride price negotiations, commonly known as *amalobola* among the *amaNguni* (*amaNdebele*, *amaSwati*, *amaTsonga*, *amaZulu*, and *amaXhosa* ethnic groups) people and among the *baSotho* group (Bepedi, Basotho and Batswana ethnic groups) *magadi*, the bride uses the small window hole to peep through in-order-to survey her future in-laws and relatives such as uncles and aunts.

structure of the rhetoric which is consciously influenced largely by different African cultural assumptions and architectural designs, such as the above visual image of the African mud houses of the *amaXhosa* people of the Eastern Cape, South Africa.

Although the *My Vote* commercial is Afrocentric in nature, its underlying ideological meaning represents aspirations of the Eurocentric postcolonial perspective of modernity and development with the dress code of Mr Xaba. The brown jacket and hat can be seen as a cultural practice among village elders, either holding a key position of the village chieftain, or just by being a village elder. Both of which imply authority and credibility, given his advanced age of 65. Mr Xaba's dress code demands respect among those around him. As such, because of these iconic, Western dress codes, they rhetorically represent some of the dimensions or features of the Eurocentric perspective. Furthermore, increased access to electricity, water, modern health care facilities, housing and modern school facilities, represent the Eurocentric worldview. And all of these features appear throughout the advertisement.

Hence, the above visual image suggests a "socialist" ideological construct, which infers increased government intervention in service delivery of social infrastructure (cf. Haywood 1998/2003). The entire advertisement, with the recurring features, as mentioned above, also suggests the creation of a black middle class. Unlike the *My Vote* commercial, whose setting is a rural village and which uses the basic daylight lighting which makes honest appeals of the A.N.C., the *Woman Next Door* commercial represents the Eurocentric postcolonial perspective.



Figure 7.16: The *Woman Next Door* television political commercial represents the Eurocentric, postcolonial perspective (small to middle-class businesses).

Figure 7.16 is a screenshot of the *Woman Next Door*, which depicts L.C.S of two women in the bedroom making a bed. One woman is wearing a pink shirt, and smart, grey business trousers. While the other woman is wearing a maroon dress and a colourful apron, and matching “doek”.⁸⁶ This is the standard or uniform dress code for domestic workers—that is, a woman employed in a private home to help with household chores such as cleaning, cooking and taking care of children while the parents are at work.

The underlying meaning of the two women in different dress codes suggests the following: the woman in pink blouse and grey trousers suggests a home owner, a middle-class black business woman who can afford to employ a domestic worker. This would have been unheard of in apartheid South Africa. Under both the colonial and apartheid regimes, it was common for black women to work as domestic workers for white families. In post-1994 South Africa, the majority of black women have also joined the ranks of the middle class and can afford to employ domestic workers to help with household chores.

⁸⁶ A “doek” is a South African informal word for a square cloth worn mainly by African women to cover the head, which is a symbol of respect.

Compared to *My Vote* commercial, the underlying meaning of the *Woman Next Door* commercial does not represent the Afrocentrism but rather Eurocentrism. In *Chapter Two* it was explained that the Eurocentric perspective suggests a Euro-American perspective which emphasises the significance of the European civilisation, concerns, cultures and values, which are at the centre of the universe to other cultures (cf. Amin 1988). It argues that the Euro-American culture is superior to other non-European cultures such as the African, Asian and Latin American cultures. Thus, the Eurocentric perspective is defined as a theory of world history in which Europe positioned her-self as an exclusive, unique, superior and global political project which legitimises her expansion to other continents of the world (cf. Amin 1988:74). In the case of the foregoing advertisement, the Eurocentric perspective suggests the dynamic relationship of society's class and economic structure—that is, the superior versus the inferior, the rich versus poor, the haves versus the have nots, and the master versus the servant relationship. The middle class is represented by the dress code of business trousers and a pink blouse, while the less privileged, the poor is dressed in uniform. The middle class temporarily left her superior position, doing the “dirty” work of the inferior and the poor.

Unlike the *My Vote* commercial, the *Woman Next Door* commercial can be seen as Western-centric in that it represents Eurocentric, or Western, capitalist aspirations.



Figure 7.17: The 2014 A.N.C. Commercial represents Eurocentrism.

The above screenshot (*Figure 7.17*) depicts a long camera shot of the use of robotic technology in the science laboratory by a group of students (two black male students, an Indian male, and two black female students, a disabled white female student in a wheelchair). The underlying meaning of the rhetorical use of the long camera shot emphasises the setting, which is the science laboratory. Here, all three women are standing near the robotic device, while the male figures are in the background. This infers that women have come to occupy spaces that were previously considered to be reserved for men, in a very male-dominated environment (the science laboratory). It therefore implies an underlying rhetorical meaning of gender equality. *Figure 7.17* also represents an inclusive South African society: people of different races, gender and ages, and different social strata. Despite this depiction of an inclusive South African society, acts of racial intolerance and racism are still common social, and political, challenges that discourage social cohesion and nation building (cf. Masombuku 2014; Gumede 2014).

The visual image also suggests the representation of the Eurocentric postcolonial perspective. The use of technology such as the robot suggests modernity, efficiency and, whiteness. According to Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2013:49), the expansion of technology

in developing nations such as South Africa suggests a form of coloniality—that is, a long-standing pattern of power that emerged as a result of colonialism, such as knowledge production, labour, the self-image of people and aspirations of the society to modernise and to develop in the same way as the advanced Western societies. The above visual image represents a liberalist capitalist ideological construct (cf. Haywood 1998/2003).

At this stage, it is important to point out whether there are similarities or differences in the selected A.N.C. television election commercials. As posited earlier, the selected *My Vote* commercial represents the underlying Afrocentric perspective, while the dress code modality and increased access to modern facilities, such as education, health and housing, represent the underlying Eurocentric perspective. The *Woman Next Door* and the *2014 A.N.C. Commercial* represent the Eurocentric modalities with social class, the privileged versus the poor, modern infrastructure, road networking, express railway lines, office buildings and complicated engineering technology such the robots.

7.9 CONCLUSION

This chapter analysed the underlying, and manifest, rhetoric of the visual images and non-verbal components used in the three A.N.C. political advertisements. The chapter referenced the following social semiotic dimensions: discourse, representation, modality, genre and myth in the analysis of the visual and non-verbal rhetoric as well as the creation of social meaning within the sampled commercials. Using the very same social semiotic dimensions the chapter also analysed whether the latent and manifest images had any ideological meanings. Lastly, the chapter also ascertained whether the sampled commercials' non-verbal and verbal rhetoric represents Afrocentrism and/or Eurocentrism. The above sections concluded with a comparison of any similarities and/or differences of the non-verbal and visual rhetoric of all three advertisements.

The final chapter of the study draws conclusions, raises limitations, and highlights the contributions made through this research.

CHAPTER EIGHT: CONCLUSION

8.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the overall conclusions of this research. The sections below provide a chronological summary of the overall study; the contributions and limitations of the study; and possible future research projects.

8.2 SUMMARY OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

This dissertation had a three-part literature review. *Chapter Two* provided an overview of the philosophical discussion of the two opposing postcolonial perspectives, namely the Afrocentric and Eurocentric perspectives. *Chapter Three* provided a theoretical discussion of the nature of political advertising and rhetoric. *Chapter Four* discussed the nature of social semiotics as a theoretical approach and methodological approach by means of which the researcher could compare, analyse and interpret the sampled data. *Chapter Five* provided the study with a research framework which was used in the analysis of the sampled data of the 2009 *My Vote* and *Woman Next Door* commercials and the 2014 *A.N.C. Commercial*. *Chapter Six (Part I)* and *Chapter Seven (Part II)* provided an interpretation of the verbal, non-verbal and visual rhetoric of the sampled commercials. Given the above structure of the study, in *Chapter One*, the following assumptions were made: The 2009 and the 2014 A.N.C. commercials have verbal, non-verbal and visual rhetoric which possess latent and manifest meanings. The former, the 2009 A.N.C. commercials, have verbal, non-verbal and visual rhetoric, which represents the latent Afrocentric postcolonial perspective. While the latter 2014 A.N.C. Commercial uses verbal, non-verbal and visual rhetoric to represent the latent Eurocentrism. The assumptions of the study further revealed that the underlying latent meaning of the verbal, non-verbal and visual rhetoric of the sampled 2009 and 2014 A.N.C. commercials are ideological in nature. Through an interpretivist analysis, using social semiotics as a research methodology, this study can draw the following six conclusions based on the above research assumptions formulated in *Chapter Five*. The first conclusion is that this study provides evidence that the verbal, non-verbal and visual aspects of the sampled 2009 commercials and the 2014 A.N.C. Commercial are

rhetorical in nature. The verbal rhetoric in the selected commercials uses metaphors, repetition and words which are rhetorically appealing. The non-verbal rhetoric in the sampled 2009 commercials and the *2014 A.N.C. Commercial* uses rhetoric such as background colour, lighting, music and settings that are rhetorically appealing. The visual rhetoric in the sampled commercials uses techniques such as camera angles, camera shots and camera movement to convey a particular meaning.

The second conclusion is that there is evidence that the verbal, non-verbal and visual rhetoric in the sampled commercials possess manifest meaning. The manifest meaning is apparent in all three commercials, which essentially promotes the A.N.C.'s achievements such as increased access to education, electricity, health, housing, empowerment of women, social security grants for the poor and the infirm, water and sanitation as well as other opportunities that previously marginalised black South Africans did not have under apartheid and colonialism. Furthermore, the manifest meaning of the *2014 A.N.C. Commercial* portrays South Africa as an advanced, sophisticated and developed first world country.

The third conclusion of this study provides evidence that the verbal, non-verbal and visual rhetoric of the sampled commercials possesses underlying latent meaning. The latent meaning of the verbal, non-verbal and visual rhetoric of the two selected election commercials, namely, the *My Vote* and the *Woman Next Door* suggests a grim economic and social state of black people under the A.N.C.-led government. Most black people continue to live in high levels of poverty because of the lack of increased participation in the mainstream white capitalist South African economy. The exploitation, exclusion and the marginalisation of black people in the economy under the A.N.C.-led government can be seen as a continuation of the apartheid and colonial systems. These findings suggest the failed socio-economic state of black people in post-1994 South Africa. In addition, the underlying latent meaning of the findings suggests that the A.N.C. does not have the political imagination to overhaul the entire white capitalist economic system, which could bring economic emancipation for the black majority (cf. Sithole 2014).

From these study findings, the latent meaning of the verbal, non-verbal and visual rhetoric of the *2014 A.N.C. Commercial*, further suggests that a small black elite which is connected through political patronage has benefited in the B.E.E. project which sought to empower black South Africans. The problem with B.E.E. is that, firstly, it betrayed the ideals of the liberation of black South Africans from institutional and structural forms of exploitation, oppression and marginalisation brought by apartheid and colonial South Africa. B.E.E. can be seen as having failed to bring new life to the majority of black people in distressed communities in South Africa such as township and village communities. Secondly, the beneficiaries of B.E.E., the black elite, only sought their own inclusion in the white capitalist system without building an economic system that could bring change to the lives of marginalised, exploited and excluded blacks and they did not change the structure which perpetuates the marginalisation and exclusion of the South African blacks in the economy (cf. Sithole 2014). The inclusion of black elites in the white capitalist economic system can be seen as fronting, conforming and preserving the colonial status quo which gives the majority of black's political power (the vote), without economic power. The fronting of black elites has further left the majority of black South Africans powerless and prone to conditions of exploitation, exclusion and marginalisation under the watchful eye of the A.N.C.

These study findings further have a number of implications concerning the A.N.C.-led government. Firstly, they suggest that the A.N.C. has failed to dismantle the legacy of apartheid which remains evident from oppressive conditions under which many black South African find themselves. Secondly, the A.N.C. has protected the white minority capitalist economic system over the economic emancipation of the black majority who are subjected to exploitation, exclusion and marginalisation. Thirdly, given the struggles of the black majority in the country under the A.N.C.-led government, A.N.C. does not have the political imagination to change the historical status quo of racial segregation, exclusion and marginalisation of the black majority. Lastly, the formation of the B.E.E. project has created the black elite, who are viewed as managers who have perpetuated the colonial and apartheid structures of black exclusion, exploitation and marginalisation in the still pre-dominantly white capitalist economic system of South Africa.

The fourth conclusion of this study is that it provides evidence that the verbal, non-verbal and visual rhetoric of the selected 2009 and 2014 commercials represents both the Afrocentric and Eurocentric postcolonial perspectives. From these study findings, the use of verbal rhetoric such as African language, the *isiZulu* language, the non-verbal and visual rhetoric in the *My Vote* and *Woman Next Door* commercials represents the uniqueness of the African culture through the rural village setting and the African hymns. These findings further portray a realistic South Africa, because they appeal largely to black South Africans. The sampled two 2009 A.N.C. commercials essentially say that the A.N.C. wants to be perceived as a political party concerned with the interests of black South Africans, thus an underlying representation of the Afrocentric perspective (Asante 1987). Also, the underlying verbal rhetoric of the Afrocentric postcolonial perspective represents the unfortunate historical and current socio-economic conditions of black people in South Africa such as poverty, marginalisation, exploitation and the exclusion of black people from the economy under the colonial and apartheid regimes in South Africa.

The findings on the *2014 A.N.C. Commercial* are that it represents the Eurocentric perspective, in that the verbal, non-verbal and visual rhetoric portrays the A.N.C. as being in denial and disavowing its historical past of the black heritage, the struggle for the liberation of black South Africans, moving into a Eurocentric view of South Africa. According to the findings of this study, the Eurocentric view essentially suggests elites, advancement and a developed white capitalist economy in South Africa, through investment in infrastructure and modern buildings, technology and a multiracial society (Amin 1988). In other words, the Eurocentric view of the *2014 A.N.C. Commercial* suggests that the A.N.C. is trying to showcase that South Africa has moved past apartheid and the immediate post-apartheid, into being a South Africa that is internationalised and globalised, and that can compete socio-economically with all the other developed countries of the world. The findings of the study further indicated that South Africa is no longer consumed with the historical racial, political and tribal divisions and violence, but it is determined to move forward as a country into the 21st century in terms of political stability, governance, technological innovation, economic development and an advanced economic infrastructure.

The fifth conclusion of this study suggests that, in essence, the verbal, non-verbal and visual rhetoric of the sampled commercials was produced under varying ideologies. The analysis of the verbal, non-verbal and visual rhetoric of the three commercials revealed that the verbal rhetoric of the *My Vote* commercial represents the socialist ideological construct, in which the A.N.C.-led government spends more on social welfare programmes such as distribution of social security grants, free housing, free education, free access to public health services and subsidised access to electricity and water (cf. Haywood 1998/2003).

The findings also revealed that the verbal, non-verbal and visual rhetoric of the *Woman Next Door* commercial exhibits the underlying ideological construct of liberal feminism (cf. Haywood 1998/2003). This construct is in line with the A.N.C.'s goal of the empowerment of women, particularly Indian, black and coloured women.

The underlying ideological construct of the verbal, non-verbal and visual rhetoric of the *2014 A.N.C. Commercial* represents liberal capitalism (cf. Haywood 1998/2003). The underlying capitalist ideology portrays South Africa as a liberal and stable democracy, which is ideal for international business investors.

The sixth conclusion of this study suggests that the underlying verbal, non-verbal and visual rhetoric of the sampled A.N.C. commercials, has the following underlying similarities and contradictions: Firstly, the *My Vote* commercial, although Afrocentric in nature, possesses Eurocentric elements such as dress code and aspirations of modernity and development. Secondly, the *Woman Next Door* commercial, although it represents the Eurocentric perspective, has a musical genre exclusively representing the Afrocentric postcolonial perspective. Thirdly, the *2014 A.N.C. Commercial* provides a stark contrast to the above two commercials in that it exclusively represents Eurocentrism.

What can be deduced from this is that as with all political advertisements, a political party or political candidate is shown in the best possible light. The A.N.C. advertisements are no different. Idealistic promises are often made, sometimes they are completely unobtainable and un-realistic. But this is the nature of political rhetoric, to

present a political party or candidate, their vision, issues and themselves as the perfect person of party of the job at hand. This means that often the manifest meaning, or focus, on such things as political issues, contrasts with the underlying meanings. And therefore, political advertisements need to be deconstructed for their multiple layers of meanings to be made apparent.

The next section considers the limitations and contribution of this study to the field of political communication in South Africa.

8.3 CONTRIBUTIONS AND LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

In *Chapter One*, the following significant contribution to the field of political communication in the South African context was highlighted. Firstly, election campaigns through television political commercials are a new phenomenon in South African. Secondly, although other studies have been conducted on political television advertising in South Africa, these studies used a quantitative research design (cf. Sindane 2011). Thus, this study differs from the above study in that it is qualitative and not quantitative. The significant contribution of this specific study is that it is the first of its kind in South Africa which focuses specifically on the qualitative research design. Thirdly, this study is significant contribution in that it focuses solely on the social semiotic approach as the main theoretical and methodological approach, while other studies focused on the traditional approach of semiotics. Fourthly, the study is comparative and longitudinal in nature, and specifically focuses on the A.N.C. election campaign television commercials from 2009 and 2014. Other studies, such as that of Sindane (cf. 2011), focused on the 2009 election campaign only. Fifthly, another significant contribution of this study is that it is interdisciplinary in the sense that it cuts across political communication with a specific focus on political television advertising and cultural studies as well as the Afrocentric and Western-centric philosophical approaches.

However, a number of limitations were identified in this study. Firstly, in reviewing the literature on political television advertisements, there is limited literature specifically on the South African election campaign television commercials, given that political television advertising is a new phenomenon in South Africa. Thus, the researcher had to

borrow literature from U.S. presidential election television commercials, while the South African electoral system is a political party-based system. Secondly, there is limited literature on political television advertisements that specifically makes use of social semiotics as the main theoretical and research framework.⁸⁷ Another limitation worth noting is that this study sampled only the A.N.C. political television commercials and not the commercials of opposition political parties. The major reason that this focus was only on the A.N.C. commercials is that during the 2009 and 2014 national elections, the A.N.C. was the only political party that had multiple political television commercials representing a wide of policy issues such as rural development, women empowerment, youth development, small business enterprise and education and training. Other opposition political parties' television political commercials such as those of the D.A. focuses on negative political advertising, which is prohibited by South African broadcasting regulations, which are overseen by I.C.A.S.A. (Kanyane 2014). Another limitation of the dissertation worth noting is that it did not conduct any audience reception studies nor did it look at how the advertisements impacted on voter behaviour.

8.4 POSSIBLE FUTURE RESEARCH PROJECTS

Since the study of political television advertisements is a new phenomenon in South African political communication, it is under theorised, under-researched and under- documented. Therefore, more studies need to be undertaken. Other studies envisaged could consider comparative analysis of political television commercials between the A.N.C. and opposition political parties such as the D.A. in South African general election campaigns. Longitudinal studies on the impact of commercials on voters or electorate response to the political party television commercials is also needed. It is also important to consider studies on music in South African political television commercials. And, further empirical studies and audience reception research studies, impact studies and effect studies need to be conducted. South African scholars could also consider international comparative studies such as a comparison between South Africa and other countries such as the U.K. or the U.S.

⁸⁷ Cf. Carey Jewitt and Rumiko Oyama (2001) and Rick Iedema (2001).

8.5 CONCLUSION

This concluding chapter provided a discussion of the overall findings of the study. It summarised the findings based on its assumptions and goals. It also provided a section on the contributions and limitations of the study. Finally, it highlighted possible future research projects that could be tackled.

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